PORTLAND INQUIRER.

AUSTIN WILLEY, Editor,
BROWN THURSTON, Publisher.

All Men are Created Equal.--Declaration of Independence.

Terms, $2,00 A YEAR, $1,75 IN ADVANCE.

VOL. XI. PORTLAND, (ME.,) THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1852. NO. 39

THE PORTLAND INQUIRER,
IS PUBLISHED EVERY THURSDAY AT PORTLAND ME. 68 EXCHANGE ST.

WILLEY & THURSTON,
PROPRIETORS.

Terms—$2,00 a year, or $1,75 in advance, or within 30 days invariably. Twenty-five cents will be added for every six months delay after the first year's credit.

ADVERTISEMENTS inserted at 3 cents a line for the first insertion, and 2 cents for every succeeding insertion; [illegible] lines to the square. The usual discount made to those who advertise by the year.

Communications are to be addressed to the EDITOR, Business Letters to the PUBLISHER, and both, post paid.

S. M. PETTENGILL & CO.
No 10, State Street, Boston.
AND
V. B. PALMER,
Tribune Buildings, New York,
Are our agents in those cities for advertising and subscriptions.

SWEDISH MOTHER'S HYMN

Mary Howitt, gentle Mary Howitt, as she is sometimes called, has translated from a favorite Swedish author the following beautiful hymn, sung by a mother to her children just before the parting "good night"—We do not wonder that Jenny Linds grow up there.

There sitteth a dove so white and fair,
All on the lily spray,
And she listeneth how to Jesus Christ
The little children pray.
Lightly she spreads her friendly wings,
And to Heaven's gate hath sped,
And unto the Father in Heaven she bears
The prayers which the children have said.

And back she comes from Heaven's gate,
And brings—that dove so mild—
From the Father in Heaven who hears her speak,
A blessing on every child.
Then children lift up a pious prayer,
It hears whatever you say,
That heavenly dove so white and fair,
All on the lily spray.

THE LITTLE SLEEPER.

BY J. CLEMENT.

Few the days the fair one numbered,
Ere were closed his lustrous eyes;
And he calmly, sweetly slumbered,
Like a cherub from the skies.

From the body, frail and sickly,
In the solemn hush of night,
Stole the spirit, soft and quickly,
Back to native realms of light.

Still the sweet one, unawaken'd,
Dreamed and smiled when night had fled,
Knowing not the soul had taken
Wings, and up to glory sped.

Folded on his heaveless bosom,
Slight his ivory hands were pressed;
And thus slept the heavenly blossom,
Truant from the Land of Rest.

The Child is Dead.

It is hard to believe it,—that we shall no more hear the glad voice, nor meet the merry laugh, that burst so often from its glad heart.

Child as it was, it was a pleasant child; and to the partial parent there are traits of loveliness that no other eye may see. It was a wise ordering of Providence that we should love our own children as no one else loves them, and as we love the children of none beside. And ours was a lovely child.

But the child is dead! You may put away its playthings. Put them where they will be safe. I would not like to have them broken or lost; and you need not lend them to other children when they come to see us. It would pain me to see them in their hands, much as I love to see children happy with their toys.

Its clothes you may lay aside; I shall often look them over, and each of the colors that he wore will remind me of him as he looked when he was here. I shall weep often when I think of him; but there is a luxury in thinking of the one that is gone, which I would not part with for the world. I think of my child now, a child always, though an angel among angels.

The child is dead. The eye has lost its lustre. The hand is still and cold. The little heart is not beating now. How pale it looks! Yet the very form is dear to me. Every lock of its hair, every feature of the face, is a treasure that I shall prize the more, as the months of my sorrow come and go.

Lay the little one in his coffin. He was never in so cold and hard a bed, but he will feel it not. He would not know it, if he had been laid in the cradle or in his mother's arms. Throw a flower or two by his side; like them he withereth.

Carry him out to the grave. Gently. It is a hard road this to the grave. Every jar seems to disturb the infant sleeper. Here we are, at the brink of the sepulchre. Oh, how damp and dark, and cold! But the dead do not feel it. There is no pain, no fear, no weeping there. Sleep on now, and take your rest!

Fill it up! Ashes to ashes, dust to dust! Every clod seems to fall on my heart. Every smothered sound from the grave is saying, Gone, gone, gone! It is full now. Lay the turf gently over the dear child. Plant a myrtle among the sods, and let the the little one sleep among the trees and flowers. Our child is not there. His dust, precious dust, indeed, is there, but our child is in heaven. He is not here; he is risen.

I shall think of the form that is mouldering here among the dead; and it will be a mournful comfort to come at times, and think of the child that was once the light of our house, and the idol—ah! that I must own the secret of this sorrow!—the idol of my heart.

And it is beyond all language to express the joy, in the midst of tears, I feel, that my sin, in making an idol of the child, has not made that infant less dear to Jesus. Nay, there is even something that tells me the Savior called the darling from me, that I might love the Savior more when I had one child less to love. He knoweth our frame; he knoweth the way to win and bind us.—Dear Savior, as thou hast my lamb, give me, too, a place in thy bosom. Set me as a seal on thy heart.—*Thoughts on the Death of Little Children.*

Live for something.—Thousands of men," says Chalmers, "breathe, move and live—pass off the stage of life, and are heard of no more—why? they do not partake of good in the world, and none were blessed by them; none could point to them as the means of their redemption; not a line they wrote, not a word they spake, could be recalled; and so they perished; their light went out in darkness and they were not remembered more than insects of yesterday. Will you thus live and die, O man immortal!—Live for something. Do good, and leave behind you a monument of virtue."

SPEECH OF HON. HORACE MANN, OF MASSACHUSETTS,

In the House of Representatives, August 17, 1852.

(Concluded.)

And now, having shown what a mighty wrong slavery is in and of itself; having shown what collateral debasement, cruelty, and [illegible] attend it [illegible], let me ask, if the present Free-Soil party do not go to the uttermost verge that patriot, moralist, or Christian can go, when it consents to let slavery remain where it is? There is an endeavor to make up a false issue for the country, and for the tribunal of history on this subject. *Free Soilers are charged with interfering with slavery within the jurisdiction of the States where it is.* This allegation is wholly unfounded. Our whole effort has been simply to keep it within the jurisdiction of the States where it is. We would not have it profane free territory. We would not allow it to double its present domain; we would not see it blast with nameless and innumerable woes, two thirds of our territorial area on the Pacific coast, as it already has two thirds on the Atlantic. This is all we have done. And, to the argument that, with only about three slaves to a square mile over all your territory, you, gentlemen of the slave States, must have more space, because you are becoming suffocated by this close crowding, we simply reply, that we cannot admit that argument, because it devotes the whole world to inevitable slavery. For, if you already need a greater expanse of territory for comfortable room, that, too, will soon be crowded with three slaves to a square mile, and the argument for further conquest and extension will come back upon us. Yielding again, the argument will speedily recur again. It will be a never-ending, still-beginning pretext for extension, until the whole world shall become a vast realm of slavery—even the free States being engulfed with the rest, so that the dove of freedom will have no spot on the surface of the globe where she can set her foot.

Baltimore Resolutions.

And now, notwithstanding the infinite evil and wrong of slavery, intrinsic in it, and inseparable from it; notwithstanding the virus with which it poisons all our free institutions; its exclusion of independent communities from the brotherhood of the Union; its hardening the nation's heart against all people struggling for liberty; its atheist-making; its attempt to transfer the whole false English code of high treason into our law, and all its debasement of the republican sentiment, and the moral sentiment of this country,—notwithstanding all this, the Baltimore Conventions decree that the subject of slavery shall be agitated among us no more forever.

Look at the comprehensiveness of this interdict. It embraces all subjects. It forbids the political economist from discussing the relative productiveness of free and slave labor. It forbids the educationist from demonstrating that a slaveholding people must always, from the necessity of the case, be an ignorant people—a people divided not only into castes of wealth, but into castes of intelligence. It forbids genius from presenting Truth in the glowing similitudes of Fiction; and that divine hearted woman, the authoress of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," is under the Baltimore ban. It forbids the poet, whose lips from olden days have been touched as with live coals from off the heavenly altar—from ever again kindling the hearts of mankind with a divine enthusiasm for liberty. It strikes out all the leading chapters from the book of the moralist. It puts its seal upon the lips of the minister of Christ, when he would declare the whole counsel of God, and forbids him ever again to preach from the text, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them." All—worldly prosperity, education, genius, morality, religion, truth—are struck out by these Baltimore Conventions in their maniacal partisanship.

The noblest men whom God has ever sent into the world—patriots, reformers, philanthropists, apostles, and Jesus Christ himself, are on the side of freedom. Tyrants, usurpers, traitors, men-stealers, the wholesale murderers and robbers of nations, are on the side of slavery. The Baltimore Conventions enlist under the banners of the latter. They affiliate with the House of Hapsburg, and with Nicholas; with the King of Naples, and with the "Prince-President" of France. One might almost suppose they had plagiarized their resolves from the Paris *Moniteur*, where that ape who mimics the imperial grandeur he cannot comprehend, records his tyrannical decrees against freedom of speech. Louis Napoleon decreed free discussion out of existence in France. Six hundred men at Baltimore decreed the same thing for this country. The ape succeeded; they fail.

And how are these resolves to be construed, provided new questions respecting slavery arise, or questions already started are precipitated upon us? Should an attempt to annex Cuba, in order in still further to aggrandize the slave power, be made—and if General Pierce should be elected, such attempt doubtless will be made—or should a new State, with a slave constitution, from California apply for admission; or should Mexico be again dismembered to form new slave territory and new slave States; in the occurrence of these events, or of either of them, how are these Baltimore resolutions to be then construed? We know perfectly well what claim will be set up. It will be said that the new events come within the terms of the prohibition—the [illegible]—and bind the nation to silence. It will be claimed that the resolutions cover not [illegible] subjects but all time; and enslave our children as well as ourselves.

Silencing discussion by force. Fugitive Act.

I have exposed the character and extent of those resolutions. Let me now expose their motive. I charge upon those Conventions the base motive of attempting to silence discussion by force—as in this House and in the Senate, the same spirit once rejected petitions, and would now silence debate—because they are conscious they cannot meet it by argument.—The fugitive slave law, for instance, is assailed by the jurist, because it is unconstitutional; by the patriot, because it disgraces the country in the eyes of the civilized world; by the religious man, because it is unchristian, and by every one who has the sentiment of humanity in his bosom, for its unheard of cruelty. The upholders of that law can answer no one of these arraignments. Their only resource, therefore, is the dastardly denial of discussion and free speech. Like Louis Napoleon, who, having no possibility of reply to the accusations of treachery, perjury, and usurpation, forbids the accusation to be made. Among all our constitutional judges, and among all those mock judges called commissioners, there is not one who has met the arguments against the constitutionality of this law. They intrench themselves behind a feeble rampart of precedents as their only defense. Judge Noggins decides it to be constitutional, because Judge Scroggins had decided it to be so. And when we look back to Judge Scroggins for light, we find he decided it to be constitutional, because Judge Spriggins had held it to be so. Chief Justice Shaw, of Massachusetts, whom I regard as one of the ablest judges who ever administered the common law, anywhere, virtually admitted, in the Sims case, that if the question of the constitutionality of this law were a new one, the affirmative could not be sustained. I repeat, then, it is a dastardly order to keep silence, because they cannot meet discussion. Necessity is their only defence,

"[illegible] with necessity,
The tyrant's plea, excused his devilish deed."

Let me state, in a few simple propositions, the unconstitutionality of the fugitive slave law, which has been so much elaborated elsewhere.

Excepting the Army and Navy, the Constitution of the United States declares that "no person shall [illegible] be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law." It also declares that, "in suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed $20, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved."

Now, every case of claim for an alleged slave, necessarily involves both the question of liberty, and the question of property.

By the constitution of every free State in this Union, every person within it is presumed to be a free man, or, in other words, there is never any *prima facie* presumption that any man within it is a slave. Every man is presumptively free until proved to be otherwise. If the civil condition or *status* of slavery is to be fastened upon any one, it must be done by the decision of a tribunal having jurisdiction over liberty and property—that is, by court and jury. The *prima facie* evidence that a man is free, entitles him to the tribunal and the trial of a free man. But under this fugitive slave law, a man's *prima facie* right to the tribunal and the trial of a free man, is taken away, not by a court and jury, but by a complaint and warrant. A claimant demands a human being presumptively free as his slave, and that mere demand is made to cancel the presumption of freedom and self-ownership, to take him away from a freeman's tribunal of court and jury, and to carry him for trial before a slave tribunal—that is, a commissioner. Is it replied, that the decision of the commissioner that he is a slave, and not a free man, proves that he had no right to the tribunal and the trial of a free man, I retort, that before an unbought, unbribed, free man's tribunal, there might have been a contrary decision, but you prejudged him to be a slave, by carrying him before a slave tribunal, and you robbed him of the first right of a free man, by depriving him of a freeman's tribunal and trial. For him, and for his case, you abolished the trial by jury. And if, by virtue of such complaint and warrant, you can deprive any person, in any free State, of a trial by jury, you can by the same rule deprive all the men in all the free States of this trial—that is, you can abolish that trial for all this class of cases; and then, by equivalent legislation, you can abolish it in all cases whatever. Where, then, is that right to a trial by jury which the Constitution declares "shall be preserved?"

The law, then, is palpably unconstitutional, because it takes from a man presumptively free the right to be tried as a freeman; and it is because the Baltimore Conventions cannot answer this argument, that they forbid its promulgation.

And besides this, the proofs which the law provides for and declares *conclusive* are abhorrent to reason, to common sense, and to the common law. It provides that evidence taken in a southern State, at any time or place which a claimant may select, without any notice, or any possibility of knowledge on the part of the person to be robbed and enslaved by it, may be clandestinely carried or sent to any place where it is to be used, and there sprung upon its victim, as a wild beast springs from its jungle upon the passer-by; and it provides that this evidence, thus surreptitiously taken and used, shall be *conclusive* proof of the facts of slavery and of escape from slavery. It does not submit the sufficiency of the evidence to the judgment of the tribunal; but it arbitrarily makes it *conclusive* whether sufficient or not.—It abolishes the common law distinction between competency and credibility. Indeed, it abolishes the elementary idea of a court of justice itself, considered as a tribunal whose functions are, first and chiefest, to hear both sides, and then to discern between truth and falsehood. The heathen emblem of justice was that of a goddess, holding balances in her hand, and weighing with holy exactness all conflicting probabilities and testimonies. The true emblem of this law would be that of some Gibson lawyer, clutching at ten dollars as a bribe and trampling the sacred balances under foot.

What would the southern gentlemen who hear me say, if, while attending to your duties in this Hall, a miscreant in any northern city or State, without knowledge or possibility of knowledge on your part, should now be suborning witnesses to obtain evidence that your house, your plantation, or cotton crop was his, and by and by should make his appearance on your premises demanding instant possession, and, in case of refusal or demur, should drag you before some ten-dollar magistrate, read his *conclusive* proof, while you are forced to be dumb, and then thrust you out of estate, house, and home! And yet this fugitive slave law is as much more atrocious than that would be, as liberty is more precious than pelf.

Cruel Fruits of the Act.

The cruel fruits of this law have been such as might be expected to grow on so wicked a stalk. The first man sent into slavery under it, Adam Gibson, was a free man. When the claimant's agent brought Gibson to him, he refused to receive him; for he knew, and he knew that all his household and neighbors would know, that Gibson had never been his slave. And so, after this free man had been seized as a slave, and sentenced as a slave, and dragged forcibly away from home to Maryland as a slave, by the authority and at the expense of the United States, he was set adrift and left to find his way back as he could.

Of the first eight persons doomed to slavery under this law, four were free men.

When this deadly law was first broached, it was said that we might rely upon the intelligence and the integrity of the southern courts to send into the land of freedom no certificates that would doom men to bondage, unless founded upon competent and undoubted testimony. But in the case of Daniel, who was tried before Mr. Commissioner Smith, at Buffalo, the slave claimant never carried a single witness before the court that made the record of slavery and of escape. The southern court made the record on affidavits only, and then gave the claimant a certified copy of it, without ever seeing or hearing a witness in the case. These affidavits were given by nobody knows whom, and sworn to by nobody knows whom—perhaps not sworn to at all, but forged for the occasion; yet on sight of them the commissioner pronounced Daniel to be a slave. It afterwards turned out, on a hearing before Judge Conkling, of the United States court, that there never had been one particle or scintilla of evidence before the commissioner on which his ten-dollar certificate of slavery was founded.

In another case, in Philadelphia, Commissioner Ingraham decided some point directly against law and authority; and when a decision of a judge of the United States court was produced against him, he coolly said, he differed from the judge, made out the certificate, pocketed the ten dollars, and sent a human being to bondage. There could be no appeal from this iniquity, for the law allows none.

In another case, before Mr. Commissioner Hallet, of Boston, where white persons were examined, on a charge of rescuing an alleged slave, he admitted this foreign evidence of a State court, taken in secret, against the native-born citizens of a free State.

And yet, with all these abominations on the face of this law, and after this long train of outrages [illegible] administration, the Baltimore Whig resolutions, which, perhaps, are the less iniquitous of the two, declare that the law shall not be modified, unless "time and experience" shall demonstrate some abuse of its powers.—How low down must these men live, that they do not call what has already happened an abuse.

A story is current respecting the origin of this law, for whose authenticity I cannot personally vouch, but it certainly carries verisimilitude on its face. The bill is said to have been concocted by a southern disunionist, anxious for some pretext to break up the Republic; and who therefore prepared a bill so unconstitutional, so abominable and fiendish, that, as he believed, even the recklessness of northern servility must spurn it. He would then make its rejection his war-cry for disunion. But, alas! he had not fathomed the baseness of northern politicians. What a southern "fire-eater" thought too unrighteous for any human being to touch, the northern aspirants for the Presidency adopted "with alacrity," and rolled as a sweet morsel under their tongue. Now, both Whig and Democratic Conventions reaffirm the law, and attribute to it a sacredness and a permanency unknown to the Constitution itself.

Sir, when I survey, one after another, the horrid features of this law—its palpable violation both of the letter and the spirit of the Constitution; its contempt and defiance of that great organic law, the Declaration of Independence, and of the whole spirit and acts and lives of our revolutionary fathers, its repugnance to all the noblest maxims and principles of the British Constitution, consecrated and hallowed as these have been from age to age by patriots' struggles and by martyrs' blood; its fabrication of such a code of evidence as was never before placed on the statute-book of any civilized nation; its provisions for deciding *conclusively* the question of a man's liberty, in what is to him a foreign State, and before what is to him a foreign tribunal, without the possibility of his appearing there to confront witnesses, or even of knowing what the conspirators against him are doing; its peremptory orders to seize a man and try the unspeakably precious question of his freedom and self-ownership, "in a summary manner, when even robbers, pirates, and murderers, must have notice of their accusation, adequate time to prepare for defence and counsel for assistance, its bribing magistrates to decide against liberty, and in favor of slavery, and its creation of a set of officers, some of whom have so decided as to prove themselves capable of accepting a bribe; its instant execution of the dreadful sentence without appeal or writ of error; its repudiation of the statute of limitations, (the policy of which is recognized by all civilized nations, not only in cases of debt, but in regard to the title to real estate, and even in regard to crimes,) so that a master who has abandoned his slave for forty years, can come and pluck him from wife and children, from home, property, and friends, and when, further, I see the pestilent workings of this law;—free northern citizens carried into bondage; southern professors in the art of kidnapping, chasing the shrieking fugitive from all his hiding-places and his altars; monster fathers pursuing the children of their own loins, as lately happened in New York, to sell them into slavery; the virtuous woman hunted by the lecher, from whose whips and scourgings she had fled, to avoid his guilty embrace; thousands of laborious and peaceable citizens amongst us, surrounded by self-earned comfort and competence, fleeing from all the endearing relations of kindred and neighborhood, out of a republic into a monarchy, to regain the lost birth-right of freedom,—thus reenacting the scenes of the Huguenot flight under Charles IX; and, as the crowning cruelty of the whole, an entire race of free people, of innocent people, of people whose ancestors fought and fell in the battles of the Revolution, and who have as much right, not merely to security and protection, but to the feeling of security and protection, under our Government, as you or I,—when I see these people, filled with consternation and dismay for themselves and for their children, trembling when they look around them upon the earth, lest some tiger, in human shape, should spring from his ambush and seize them, and plunge them into slavery's hell, and trembling when they look upward into the sky, because God seems to have forsaken them;—sir, when I contemplate all these things, I am compelled, though against the common faith, to acknowledge evidence of superoatural inspiration in the hearts of men. But it is infernal and diabolical inspiration, whose evidence I recognize. Sir, this fugitive slave law was not made by man alone; for unaided total depravity is not equal to all its atrocities. Place the law and the Baltimore edicts side by side,—the command and the prohibition together. "You shall chase the fugitive, but you shall not speak." As in the days of the early Christians, or like the Pilgrim Fathers, in the times of the non-conformists, we may hold our meetings only in dens or caves, or in the most secret recesses of our dwellings, with doors locked and guarded. Once the bloodhounds were muzzled; now the bloodhounds are let loose and freemen are muzzled.

Sir, when any humane and intelligent man reflects upon the attributes of this law, and then turns to the fiat of the Baltimore Conventions, that it shall not be agitated or discussed, he cannot but tremble with an agony of indignation and contempt. These resolves are so subversive, not only of all divine but of all human government; they are so audacious and yet so impotent; they assume so imperial an air, while yet they are more imbecile than an idiot's gibberish, that the great poet of our language, whose mind supplies redundant images for all things vile and mean, has but one passage that befits the vileness of this law. To borrow his words, these Baltimore resolutions are a

"——— birth-strangled babe,
Ditch-delivered by a drab."

Justice and gratitude, however, demand that I should say, that there were sixty-seven members of the Whig Convention who stood out bravely and to the last against this attempted abolition of the freedom of speech. In the Democratic Convention there seems to have been scarcely a whisper of dissent.

Sir, I cannot but acknowledge that the events I have recited have an ominous look for the cause of freedom. It seems as though the black clouds which have settled down over Europe was extending its gloomy folds across this country to envelop, in darkness and despair, the last hopes of liberty upon earth. But I have infinite faith in God and in truth. I believe that cloud to be surcharged with lightnings which will yet blast the oppressor. And after the lightnings and the storm have passed, then shall come the day of universal freedom and joy.

Retribution at Baltimore.

False as those Baltimore Conventions were to the Constitution of the United States, to the Declaration of Independence, to humanity, and to God, yet when we come to scan their proceedings more closely, we find that they were amenable to a power they refused to acknowledge. It was there as in the ancient mythology; the gods decreed, but there was so inexorable fate standing behind the gods, and controlling their decrees. That irresistible fate, which bound the Conventions as with a spell and hemmed in their desires and aptitudes for wrong, which was a will within their will, was the genius of northern anti-slavery. There were at least half a dozen candidates, which the Democratic Convention vastly preferred to the one they finally took up with; and there was at least one, whom the Whig Convention, under the southern pressure brought to bear upon them, would have consented to take, but for the uplifted arm of the North, which menaced inexorable defeat for any such selection, and would have terribly executed its menace. As in the vision of the Scottish seer, "coming events cast their shadows before," so here the coming thunders of the people's rebuke sent their echoes forward, and forbade both Conventions from inscribing the more apostate names upon their banners. It was the Free-Soil party of the North that held those thunders in its hands, and if it did not determine whom the Conventions should nominate, it did determine who they should not.

Why did not the Democratic party nominate General Cass? For forty years he had stood conspicuously before the country; had served in early life, in a military capacity on the northern frontier; been afterwards Governor of a Territory now swarming with three millions of men; Embassador abroad and Cabinet Minister and Senator at home. Besides he was a man of unblamable private life—one who, whatever sinister rewards he may have expected, never exposed himself to the imputation of bartering his integrity for "donations," reputed, and I believe justly reputed, to be a temperance man, which fact, by itself, had he been a candidate against a man of known intemperate habits, would have given him fifty thousand votes in New England alone—a fact which future presidential aspirants will do well to heed. Why was not General Cass nominated? His Nicholson letter was the flaming barrier, which neither the perverse Baalim of Democracy, nor its beast, was able to pass by. By that letter, as the returns of 1848 show, General Cass struck off a hundred thousand votes from his ticket in the State of New York alone. General Cass died of a modern disease, called "letter-writing," which has proved singularly fatal to presidential candidates. The Nicholson letter was the malignant distemper that bloated and killed him.

Why was not Mr. Buchanan nominated—the favorite of that great State which, as she inclines one way or the other, seems to rock and sway the Union, and determine the result in every presidential election. He was a man of great powers—one whom nature had laid out on a grand scale. When the history of this country is written, Mr Buchanan's name cannot be put in a parenthesis. He made Gen. Jackson, rather than Gen. Jackson him. His talents, with those of Governor Marcy of New York, were the salt that saved Mr. Polk's administration from putridity. He was a daring man. In 1848 in an official communication to the French Provisional Government, he boldly obtruded his counsels upon them for the formation of their constitution, as though the new Republic were his ward. Lamartine politely made a French bow in return; but saying, as he gave it, he would not tolerate advice from any other people God ever created.

Why [illegible] Mr. Buchanan [illegible]? Ah! he had been ever bolder in his domestic diplomacy than in his foreign. His offer to run the Missouri compromise line through to the Pacific ocean, and to sacrifice all south of that line on the altar of the Moloch of slavery, was a grand act of apostacy to northern sentiment and to freedom, which brought the films of death over his eyes. His *coup d'etat* was a *coup de grace*. He will be less successful in making such northern platforms, than in making French Constitutions. In all the States north of Pennsylvania, during the forty-nine ballotings, he rarely received more than half a dozen votes; and I think his average, in those States, did not come up to that insignificant, or rather, that *significant* number.

And what was the fate of the Senator from Illinois, whom some sagacious and over-reaching Whig called the young giant—a nickname which his own friends were silly enough to adopt. I say silly, for everybody knows that the common notion which the common people have of a "*young giant*" is that of unnatural and precocious *animal* developement. The very name conjures up images of rowdyish passion and appetite of nocturnal revels, of a sort of wild, obscene force, unchastened by the lessons of experience, and untempered by Nestorian wisdom. What was his reward for his implied or understood offer of the annexation of Cuba? From the four States of Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, he never at any one time received more than sixteen votes, and in four fifths of the ballotings he received but five or six. In winning the South he forgot the North.

"Vaulting ambition that o'erleaps itself
And falls on t'other side."

Or, as a graver poet has expressed it, these worshippers at the southern shrine, while they renounced northern constituencies, were

"Like idiots gazing in a brook,
Who leap at stars and fasten in the mud."

I cannot stop to enumerate the victims in detail. The slain Hectors may have a monument and be remembered; but it is the felicity of the vulgar herd, in an ungodly contest, that they rot in a forgotten grave.

Long before the Baltimore Convention met we had supposed that the northern Democratic aspirant for the Presidency had done their worst; that they had drank the last dregs of the cup of humiliation. But southern genius seems exhaustless in resources for northern debasement. Some unknown political upstart in Richmond, Virginia, obtruded himself into notice by shouting out the two words, "Presidency," "Pro-slavery," to all the candidates, and instantly thirteen of them were at his feet. He put to them some "more questions" in the catechism of infamy—whether, if they could be elected, they would veto any bill repealing the fugitive slave law," and so forth. All answered his questions as he indicated they must.—Forgetful of the nature of the oath they longed to take, forgetful that it is a violation of the whole spirit of our Government for the Executive to interfere with Congress, by telling them beforehand what acts of theirs he will not approve, they all hastened to give the desired response. He did not send them a pro-slavery creed, with a blank left for their signatures, but he compelled them to write out their own shame with their own hands. He did not send the collar and chains all ready for them to put on but he said, forge them and rivet them on yourselves; and submissive, they forged them and riveted them on, and expressed gratitude for the favor.

And now, where are those thirteen Democratic candidates? And where, too, are those two Whig candidates who, within the last two years, have done every conceivable thing, and a thousand things before inconceivable, to propitiate the slave power? Gone, sir; all gone with those who perish at Tyburn. They rebelled against humanity and against God, and verily they have their reward. They mounted a platform, where they hoped to be crowned, amid the huzzas of the people; but an avenging Nemesis stood there, and, in the twinkling of an eye, changed it into the "drop platform" of the executioner. Sir, when a single malefactor receives at the hands of justice his well-merited doom, the moralist seizes the example to give a warning to others who may be tempted, in like cases, to offend. He points to the ignominious body of his victim, and, as the herald of God, he proclaims the eternal law, that crime never can compensate the criminal. He declares that, until finite man can overpower or circumvent the infinite Creator, the retributions of sin shall pursue the sinner. If the preacher does this when he has but a single victim for a text, what an accumulation of energy and emphasis is given to his admonitions when there are fifteen victims before him!

General Remarks.

Now, there are two or three general observations on this impressive spectacle, which I wish to make. In the first place, all the leading candidates of both Conventions were northern men. Would not the historian have signalized the event as something [illegible] extraordinary, if fifteen southern champions of slavery born and bred in its midst, whose very growth, bodily and mental, had been only the secretion of pro-slavery [illegible], and who were innately [illegible] acts, had sued [illegible] to northern Free Soilers, and offered to stand upon their platform to obtain their votes? Would it have at all diminished the marvel, if these fifteen southern applicants for northern support, with all the followers which lost of power or of money could enlist, had gone through all the South vociferating that, unless they should adopt the Free-Soil platform, the Union would be dissolved? I think such a chapter in history would never cease to create amazement and wonder. Is it not infinitely more wonderful, in this age of the world, that northern men should do for slavery what we could never expect at one time, so many southern men to do even for freedom?

My second remark pertains to the number of the candidates. Never were there even half so many on the presidential race-course before. Now, why were they so numerous, as well as all from the North? The answer is obvious. The South had said again and again, and most explicitly, to the North, "Give us your most pro-slavery man and we will adopt him." It is easy to see that when moral, or even intellectual, qualifications are the test in choosing a President, the candidates must be few; but if devotion to slavery is the sole test, then there may not only be fifteen, but five hundred or five thousand. In this way the competitors become so numerous that the chances of success are worth nothing. Nobody will pay much for a lottery-ticket when the blanks are to the prizes as a hundred to one. It was a poor speculation, therefore, for the presidential aspirants to put the price of the office so low that anybody, however obscure before, could become a rival. Cass, Buchanan, Marcy, Douglas, Dallas, Dickinson, and so forth, should have thought of this before they entered the lists, and put themselves on equality with a man whom not one in five thousand out of New Hampshire could remember ever to have heard of before, and yet plucked the prize out of their hands.

Another remark is, that the southern vote in both Conventions, could have been concentrated at any time upon either one of the northern candidates, with one remarkable exception—which I will mention by and by—provided only that the northern men could have united upon him. At any moment the South would have accepted General Cass, or Mr. Buchanan, or Governor Marcy. In the Whig Convention, the South was most anxious to [illegible] Mr. Fillmore, [illegible] the North to their support. Each of them, by the eagerness of his pro-slavery course, had signed his own death-warrant in States enough to defeat him. And as to Mr. Fillmore, on whom the South were more unanimous than on any one of all the other candidates, his bloody right hand had signed the fugitive slave law; and therefore it was as certain, as anything future can be, that he could not obtain a single electoral vote north of Mason & Dixon's line. The infinite mercy of God may wash that blot from his name in another world, but it can never be forgotten in this. And thus they all came under that great moral law which forever cries "Woe! woe!" to the offender. Fascinated by the brilliancy of the prize, they forgot the eternal law of rectitude and humanity, by which alone it can be honorably won and worn.

A Voice. What do you say of General Pierce?

Mr. Mann. Someone inquires what I say of General Pierce. I say of General Pierce, that if he had been conspicuous in the pro-slavery contest for the last two years, if he had been known as the ardent lover of the fugitive slave law, and had answered the Richmond Scott letter about a veto to it, he never would have received the Baltimore nomination. Some other man would have been exhumed for the occasion. Not knowledge of him, but ignorance of him, secured his nomination.

A Voice. How of General Scott?

Mr. Mann. Had General Scott devoted himself to the cause of slavery for the last two years, as his competitors had done; he would not have been nominated. His short-comings in that iniquity as every body knows, is the reason, and I might almost say the whole reason, why the South and the pro-slavery part of the North oppose him. But for this the South would prefer him before either of his rivals.

Daniel Webster.

In regard to Mr. Webster, there are three points which I propose to elucidate—his position of special and marked hostility to slavery in 1848, what he did for the cause of slavery in 1850, and how the South requited him in 1852. His case is peculiarly impressive.—Instructive warnings as all the others are, yet "the Secretary stands alone." I am about to speak of his downfall in no spirit of personal exultation, though he has done me the greatest wrong. Because, when sitting on the top of his political Olympus, he hurled his shafts at me, I scorn to retaliate when he lies deserted and despairing at its base. The man does not live, (unless now it be himself,) who felt a more poignant grief at his ruin than was felt in this heart of mine. But it was not on the 21st of June last, and at Baltimore that he fell; but on the 7th of March, 1850, in the Senate of the United States. It was then that he sunk his beaming forehead in the dust, never again, I fear, to be lifted up. It was then that he tore from his brow the glorious diadem of Fame and cast its clustered stars away—a diadem richer than ever blazed upon the brow of royalty, for its gems were not gathered from rock or mine, but from the more precious treasures of wisdom and eloquence. Then thousands of hearts were wrung with anguish, as [illegible], and blaspheming those apostate doctrines fell from his lips. I say no bosom, save now perhaps his own, was ever more deeply saddened at the spectacle of that moral ruin than mine. As I think of him now, ever-recurring and dirge-like, do the elegiac strains, written for the occasion by the Poet of Humanity, wake their mournful echoes in my breast:

"So fallen! so lost! the light withdrawn
Which once he wore!
The glory from his gray hairs gone
Forevermore!

Revile him not—the Tempter hath
A snare for all!
And pitying tears, not scorn and wrath,
Befit his fall!

Oh! dumb be passion's stormy rage,
When he who might
Have lighted up and led his age,
Falls back in night.

Scorn! would the angels laugh, to mark
A bright soul driven,
Fiend-goaded down to the endless dark,
From hope and Heaven!

Let not the land, once proud of him,
Insult him now,
Nor brand with deeper shame, his dim,
Dishonored brow.

But let its humbled sons, instead,
From sea to lake,
A long lament, as for the dead,
In sadness make.

Of all we loved and honored, naught
Save power remains—
A fallen angel's pride of thought
Still strong in chains.

All else is gone: from those great eyes
The soul has fled:
When faith is lost, when honor dies,
The man is dead!

Then, pay the reverence of old days
To his dead fame,
Walk backward, with averted gaze,
And hide the shame."

Still, I should leave this part of my subject maimed and incomplete should I forbear to draw the moral which the fate of this eminent man so impressively [illegible] come. It would be still more sad if we could not use them to warn others from offending. Besides, the drama, in one of whose scenes we were brought together upon the stage and enacted a part, has now been played out, and I am now able to establish by history all the positions I then maintained by argument.

The grandeur of Mr. Webster's intellect—the first point always made in his defense—I readily admit. On this point I give his friends *carte blanche* of concession and agreement—the whole argument—their own way.

But, on the next point, I claim to have the whole concession of argument my own way; that though his intellect were fitted to fill a "Dome of Thought," vast as one of those Egyptian statues that have been lately found on the banks of the Nile, from whose craniums the natives have long been in the habit of cutting mill-stones without sensibly diminishing their bulk, yet if he could exchange it all to blot out the history of that 7th of March speech, he would make a divine speculation.

For proof of this, I might cite volumes. I might refer to his pilgrim address at Plymouth, and his reply to Colonel Hayne, and select something from almost every page of those volumes of eloquence—beautiful as painting, and grand as statuary—whose appeals fell upon men's hearts like an afflatus of the spirit of God. With all this, I might then contrast what he has written and spoken since the day of his downfall, pictorial as it is, with emblems of whips and chains, of auction-blocks, and shrieking fugitives, fleeing from the bloody lash and the lecher's arms, and finding no protection in the sanctuary of Faneuil Hall, or under the shadow of Bunker Hill, or by the sacred monuments of Lexington and Concord.

But I will confine myself to a single item of proof, irrefragable and conclusive.

The Buffalo Convention of 1848, proclaimed its determination "to maintain the rights of free labor against the aggressions of the slave power, and to secure free soil for a free people."

It declares its "independence of the slave power, and its fixed determination to rescue the Federal Government from its control."

It declared that the proviso of Jefferson to prohibit slavery in all the territories, and the ordinance of 1787, excluding slavery from the Northwestern Territory "clearly show that it was the settled policy of the nation, not to extend, nationalize, or encourage, but to limit, localize, and discourage slavery; and to this policy which should never have been departed from, the government ought to return."

It declared "that it is the duty of the Federal Government to relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence or continuance of slavery wherever that Government possesses constitutional authority to legislate on that subject, and is thus responsible for its existence."

It declared "that the only safe means of preventing the extention of slavery into territory now free, is to prohibit its existence in all such territory by an act of Congress."

It declared "that we accept the issue which the slave power has forced upon us, and to their demand for more slave territories, our calm but final answer is, no more slave States—no slave territory."

And what did Mr. Webster say of this platform, within one month after it had been adopted? This is his language

"I have said, gentlemen, that in this Buffalo platform, this collect of the new school, there is nothing new. There is nothing in it that all the Whigs of the northern and middle States may not adopt. Gentlemen, it is well known that there is nothing in this Buffalo platform which, in general, does not meet the approbation of all the Whigs of the middle and northern States. Suppose, now, that all of us who are Whigs should go and join the Free Soil party, what would be the result? Why, so far nothing would happen, but that the Whig party would have changed its name. That would be all. Instead of being the Whig party, it would be the Free-Soil party. We should be all there, exactly upon the same principles upon which we have always stood."

Now, contrast this full, explicit, comprehensive, and apparently ingenuous subscription and adhesion to all the doctrines and articles of the Buffalo platform, in 1848, with the 7th of March speech in 1850, and with all that has since followed it from the same source.

Surely, if General Jackson, in 1836, in order to obtain a third election, had courted and defended the United States Bank, written and spoken through all the eastern cities in its behalf, and made James Watson Webb and Nicholas Biddle his bosom confidants and counsellors; surely, if Mr. Clay, in 1848, had declared for free trade, against all tariffs, against river and harbor improvements, and against all the policy that had most signalized his life; surely, if Mr. Calhoun, during the controversy respecting the new Territories, had suddenly avowed himself the disciple of Clarkson and Wilberforce, and had raised the standard of "immediate emancipation;"—surely, I say, neither of these events would have furnished such ample matter of confusion and amazement as are supplied by the melancholy case I am now considering. After having nurtured, tutored, and led northern anti-slavery sentiment for thirty years; after having claimed the "patented thunder" of the Wilmot proviso; and after having discovered the North star, in a single day, without premonition or cause of change, Mr. Webster espouses doctrines more southern than South Carolina, and becomes Calhouner than Mr Calhoun.

Where shall the searcher of history find a parallel for this? I know of none. I can conceive but one—that of Moses, from the confines of Jordan, and the top of Pisgah, commanding the children of Israel to march back into the land of Egypt, for re-subjugation to Pharaoh; yet striving to persuade them that the "geography" and "scenery" of the Nile would render slavery there impossible.

And yet, when the trial-hour of the Baltimore Convention came, what did he gain by it all? A single southern State? Not one. A single delegate from a southern State? Not one. With all the efforts that official power, and the wealth of cities, and amazing industry could make; with all that subscription nominations, and Faneuil Hall meetings, and Castle Garden committees, and Wall street, and State street, and subsidized presses, and fraudulent hopes of tariff and southern trade could effect, Mr. Webster could rally but an average of twenty-nine votes in a convention of almost three hundred members, and never, on any balloting, according to the political thermometer which measured his popularity, did he rise above thirty-two degrees—the point of eternal congelation! No southern State gave him a vote! No southern delegate was sent there to give him a vote! Fifty-three opportunities occurred, extending from day to day, and, according to an account published in the Boston Courier, from a professed eye-witness of the

scene, the northern friends of Mr. Webster besought their southern brethren with prayers and entreaties, sad and tearful enough to have melted flint, to have melted plantinum, to have melted anything but the infusible heart of slavery, and yet they were inexorable. Nay, according to the published statement of his friend, Doctor Bell, a delegate from the Fourth Congressional District of Massachusetts, after the fifty-second ballot, and when it became certain that General Scott would be nominated the next time, these southern gentlemen "were 'earnestly appealed to, as a matter of courtesy, 'and to place our candidate [Mr. Webster] 'right [wrong?] on the page of history, to unite 'in the final vote on Mr. Webster, which would 'have left him with some one hundred and 'twenty or thirty votes"—they refused to give him even that empty compliment.

So certain has been the fate of Mr. Webster for the last eighteen months, that I and all those with whom I am politically associated, have foreseen it and predicted it with as much confidence as an astronomer foretells an eclipse. Let us trust that the fate of such victims will not be lost for the future upon northern men.

Sir, out of this fugitive slave law has arisen an ill-sounding, half-barbarous word to express the wholly barbarous idea that the law is never to be repealed or *modified*. It is the word "Finality." This word has already got into somewhat common use in regard to its objects. It is destined to get into universal use in regard to its authors. I think General Cass and Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Fillmore and Mr. Webster, with many others, have by this time an interior and realizing sense of what the word "*finality*" means. Though too late for them to profit by it, I hope it will be blessed to the use of others.

The Union not in danger.

And what palliation, what pretext, what subterfuge even, had these men for such betrayal of human rights? Nothing, literally nothing, but that fraudulent idea of "danger to the Union;" that cry of "wolf," which the South always raises when she has an object to accomplish; and which she will always continue to raise, on pretences more and more shadowy and evanescent, the more we have the folly to heed it. The same threat is now, at this instant of time made if the North does not give them their choice in the two candidates for the Presidency.

Among redundant proofs, demonstrating that the Union has been in no peril, nor shadow of peril, there are two which never have been answered, and never can be answered. Notwithstanding all that was done in this House, and more especially in the Senate, and by all the pro-slavery presses and pro-slavery champions, North and South, during the year 1850, to create a panic in behalf of the Union, they were never able to effect the price of United States stocks, neither in this country nor in Europe, so that the difference could be discovered with a microscope. Now, of all men living, stockholders and annuitants are the most sensitive. Universally they are a timid race. If there be a cloud in the heavens, or a ripple on the surface, they fear wreck, and shout the alarm.—But timid as they constitutionally are, not politicians nor panic makers could discompose their serenity by all their insane cries about the crumbling of the Union to pieces; and there was not a member of the Castle Garden committee who would have taken one cent less, or would not have given every cent as much, for United States securities on the day when they sent forth their fraudulent resolves as before or after.

On this point I will cite an authority whose soundness upon the question in issue I believe in, and certainly my opponents will not dispute:

"We have preserved and fostered credit till all have become interested in its further continuance and preservation. It has run deep and wide into our whole system of social life. Every man feels the vibration when a blow is struck upon it. And this is the reason why nobody has escaped the influence of the Secretary's recent measure. While credit is delicate, sensitive, easily wounded, and more easily alarmed, it is also infinitely ramified, diversified, extending everywhere, and touching everything."*

[illegible] of politicians, shrieked "danger to the Union" in their other capacity of stock-dealers and merchants, never varied their asking or their giving prices one jot or tittle. They cried "earthquake," when not a rumble could be heard nor a jar felt; and they tried to make us believe that a tornado was uprooting the forests, when nobody could see a leaf on a tree moving. No! the cry of danger to the Union was raised to divert attention from their assaults upon the Constitution. It was the latter and not the former that was in danger.

Another reason, and it is a standing and continuous one, why there was no danger to the Union, consists in the fact that the South, according to their own estimate, are under bonds of $1,500,000,000 to keep the public peace.—Let them break up this Union, and their property in slaves, which they now value at this enormous sum, will not, at the end of a quarter of a century, be worth so many groats.—Does anybody imagine that this Union can be dissolved without civil commotion, without revolution by arms? Sir, this is a subject inconceivably painful; but it is a possibility spoken of and sported with by others with such levity, that I am constrained to invest it with some of its appropriate solemnities. Does any one believe there can be two border nations one founded on the principle of freedom, and the other on the basis of slavery, having a contiguous frontier of three thousand miles, and daily traversing the same waters, with immunity from war? And in such wars, who will be the eager allies of the North? Sir, there are ten thousand fugitive slaves in Canada today capable of bearing arms, and their number is increasing faster than ever. They are practicing the use of fire-arms, and the *menage* of the horse. The story of their oppressions is recounted every day, in every hamlet and at every fire-side. The mothers nurse their children with milk and with vengeance together. The knowledge of a north star is penetrating further and further into the southern interior, and arousing new hearts to the effort of self-emancipation. A dissolution of the Union repeals the accursed act of 1850. The free soil of Canada and the British Provinces—the only free soil there now is on the northeastern part of this continent—is brought down to Mason and Dixon's line. We have in the northern States a population of two hundred thousand of African descent. In case of war between the two sections, thousands of this colored race will fly to the land of bondage, swift as they ever flew from it. They will go to make desolation of the realm that once made desolation of them, and of all they held dear. Under their motives more terrible than those which urge a bondsman to his revenge. Perpetual proximity between master and slave, furnishes perpetual opportunity for retribution. Every house is an arsenal of weapons; every tool on the plantation an instrument of death. Fire and darkness are allies which nature proffers him. In this warfare, the master does not go into the battle alone; his wife and children are at his side, whose weakness or whose beauty, in presence of an imbruted foe, may provoke the first assault. Ay, sir, in a civil or a servile war, the South will be in a more perilous condition than if every kernel of gunpowder in all the magazines of an army, just on the eve of battle, should suddenly become animated, and set it[self on fire]. [A]venging cry, insurgents will rise up like an exhalation over all the South. There are no [illegible] If the South wish to exhibit to the world, on a magnificent scale, the natural retributions of slavery; if they wish to realize, in their own fair land, and by Hyder Alis of their own, Burke's terrible picture of the desolation of the Carnatic, they have but one thing to do, and that is to dissolve this Union. But I do not fear that any such madness will possess them. As I said before, they are under bonds of $1,500,000,000 to keep the peace, and their wives and daughters are sureties in the bonds. All wealth that is consumable, all affection that is destructible, all chastity that is violable, are pledged for the fulfillment of their vows.

Waiving a hundred other facts and considerations, the two which I have now specified are sufficient to show that this cry of "danger to the Union," was wholly baseless and deceptive.

Warning to Presidential Aspirants.

From another point of the compass, and from an independent series of facts, a similar moral may be drawn for future presidential aspirants. [illegible] the Democratic party nor its northern [illegible] anything to gain by the Mexican [illegible] headlong into it at the dictation of the South. The Whig party, as such, always pronounced the war itself to be an aggression, and its territorial acquisitions a robbery. Yet the great body of this party voted the supplies that ratified its inception.—Opposition to the war of 1812, had proved politically disastrous to many of those who made it; and it was foreseen that opposition to the Mexican war might be attended with similar results. Hence the lukewarmness of Whig opposition in Congress, and hence the voting of supplies to carry it on. Hence the pro-slavery men, and the "manifest-destiny" men were allowed to have their way; and so the war was continued at an estimated expenditure in the whole, of more than $200,000,000 and the ultimate acquisition of territory, some portion of which is already occupied by slaves, and two thirds of which is laid open to slavery by law.

And now, what has been the effect of that war upon both the Democratic and Whig civilians, who either vigorously sustained it, or opposed to it only a feeble resistance? It made the Cæsars who have come back to rule over Rome. But for the Mexican war, General Taylor would have remained a "frontier colonel," as Mr. Webster sneeringly called him, and not even lunacy would have conceived of him for President. But for the Mexican war, General Scott, though in honor and in bravery retaining his invincibility, would have lacked, to political wooers, the more potent charm of availability, and would never have been nominated. And but for the Mexican war, the shades of oblivion would soon have perfected their easy work of hiding the name of General Pierce from the world forever. And now behold the civilians, Cass, Buchanan, Marcy, and the rest, who stood sponsors and godfathers for that bloody deed. Defeated in 1848 by the very man whom the war they supported had raised up! General Taylor discomfitted only one Santa Anna in Mexico, but half a dozen at home. Look, too, at Mr. Webster, whose giant blows, had they been struck at the fitting time, might have broken the helmet and pierced the mailed armor of that Mars; yet see him thrust aside in 1848 to make room for one hero born of that war; and in 1852, hardly allowed to enter his name as a competitor against another. In 1852, also, see General Pierce, who had about as much to do with the Mexican victories, as little Iulus had with the Trojan war, yet plucking the nomination from Cass, Buchanan, Marcy, Douglass, and all the rest. The camp triumphs over Cabinet and Senate. The *cedant arma togæ* is read backwards. How many of these warriors will remain in 1856, and in 1860, to shoulder aside the civilians for the third and fourth time, because they were false to their duty in waging or in tolerating that war, remains to be seen. But what a righteous retribution for those civilians who, at first, might have prevented, or afterwards might have stayed that effusion of human blood! As a specimen of poetic justice, romance or drama has nothing finer.

Hope for Liberty.

I have, sir, but one topic more to present, before I shall have sufficiently disobeyed and defied the Baltimore resolutions, for this time, and shall be ready to sit down. As I said before, present omens forbode ill to the cause of freedom, in this land: but a more searching analysis throws a cheering light upon our prospects.

Let us see in the first place, why it is that the North, with almost two thirds of the population and of the votes of the whole Union, is controlled on all questions pertaining to slavery by the other third belonging to the South. The answer is at hand. We at the North are divided into two parties, Whigs and Democrats, who balance, and, in all political contests, neutralize each other. Nominally, the South is divided into the same parties, but, in whatever regards slavery, it is undivided and a unit—indissoluble as the Siamese twins; for where you find Chang, you are sure to find Eng.—

On tariffs, river and harbor improvements, and so forth, they carry on a feeble and somnolent warfare among themselves; but whenever the tocsin of slavery is sounded, they awaken to seize their arms, and form in solid column for a quick-step march to the point in contest. Hence by obtaining the feeblest support from the North—generally speaking by stealing marches upon us, while we are engrossed by our accustomed vocations—an easy triumph is won. The nominal division of parties, therefore, is very far from being the true one. The country is, and for a long time has been, for all purposes aside from the spoils of office, divided into three parties of very nearly equal numbers—the Whigs and Democrats of the North, and the pro-slavery party of the South—the latter, with the slightest aid, or even with acquiescence from either of the others, being able to prevail. And this will continue to [illegible] on our side in this war. The laws of the moral universe, the laws of nature, the laws of population and power, are our allies, and therefore we must prevail.

Look at the amazing fact that the southern States, with more than double the area of the northern, after an experiment of more than sixty years of free government, have but about half the free population of the latter. I say the area of the former is more than double the area of the latter; but this is by no means the only element of their natural superiority.—Their milder climate; their more fertile and easily cultivable soil, and its happy adaptation for producing the great staples of commerce which the whole civilized world will have and are ready to pay for, gives to the South at least a twofold advantage over the North, acre for acre, or State for State. With their supereminent and easily-understood advantages, the southern section of this Union might possess, and but for its slavery would to-day possess, threefold the population of the northern section—all free, all blessed with more abounding comforts and competence, and with all the means of embellishment, education, and universal culture. As compared with the North in all that gives individual independence or social strength, instead of being as one to two, they should be as three to one. Ohio and Kentucky, separated only by a ribbon's width of water illustrates this problem, even to school-boys. It is slavery, and slavery alone, that has struck them down from their lofty pre-eminence; that has dwarfed their gigantic capacities, and driven them to maintain an ascendency—ultimately worthless, and worse than worseless—by suborning northern politicians, instead of exulting in the legitimate superiority of home-born and undecaying vigor.

And this is only the fulfillment of an eternal law which always has been, and always will be exemplified in the history of mankind—the law that all error is weakness; that all wickedness is dementia. By a law, fixed as gravitation, error tends to ruin, and moral wrong to imbecility. Let any individual, act upon a false theory, and in that, his hopes will be disappointed, and his fortunes maimed. Let a community legalize false principles, or adopt evil institutions into its organic law—which is *its* sensorium—its strength becomes faintness, and its glory turns black. False notions, or even ignorance about the laws of health, bring disease upon an individual, or epidemics upon a country. False conclusions in political economy bankrupt a city or the treasury of a nation. False metaphysical or theological dogmas cramp the faculties, vitiate the knowledge, and repress the aspirations of their possessors; and the schools or the sects that adopt them dwindle into weakness, become contemptible, and perish. God kills out error by the meanness of its results. Neither caste, primogeniture, nor hierarchy can save it. The false notions of Aristotle, about the perfectness of the circle for motion, and the law of equilibrium for fluids, with other absurdities, kept the philosophic and inventive genius of the world in irons for two thousand years; but when they passed into everlasting contempt. False maxims in government, and false practices in political economy, have worked out the terrible problem of Ireland's ruin, sending almost two millions of her people through disease and starvation into the grave, or to exile, within the last ten years, an[d] [illegible] processes which [illegible] the dreadful de[illegible] was begun six centuries ago, and has now passed into the Ge[illegible] history shall be re[illegible]ed of God against both. As it corrupts domestic virtue, contravenes the natural laws of a nation's prosperity and growth, excludes and drives away those who are instinct with the love of freedom, from settling within its borders, makes general education impossible, and eviscerates from the Gospel of Jesus Christ the highest and purest of its principles and precepts, it follows by a law of adamantine necessity, that the body politic, which suffers it is vulnerable in every part, and that physical and moral death besieges every gate of its citadel. Slavery assails all the laws of God broadside; and it must therefore, receive His retributions broadside.

Those are the specimens of the weakness which is always inflicted by error, and of the fatuity that ensues from moral wrong. They are specimens of those "Higher Laws" of God, which fulfil their destiny whether men heed them or defy. They crush the resistant, while resisting, and silence the blasphemer in mid volley.

If the northern States of this Union, therefore, will cherish liberty while the southern foster slavery, the predominance of the former in political power, as well as in all other things desirable, will soon be overwhelming. Foreign annexations by the latter cannot redress the balance. They but palliate the symptoms of a distemper which is organic,—as the newly-erected wing of a lazar-house, for a time dilutes the infection, which it soon sends back to aggravate the general virulence. I appeal to the friends of liberty, then, wherever they may be found, to stand fast in their integrity; for, to adopt the sentiment of Mr. Jefferson in such a contest, there is not a attribute of the Almighty but must take part with us.

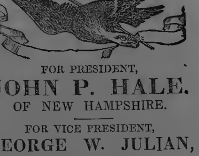
Sir, I have endeavored now to speak upon the real and true state of the Union. I have desired to ascertain towards what point of the moral compass this great vehicle, which we call Government, freighted as it is with so much of human welfare, and with the fondest hopes of the oppressed, is now moving. I have sought to determine that direction, not by the meteoric lights which are exhaled from human passion and selfishness, but by taking observation of the unchangeable luminaries of truth and duty, which shine down upon us forever from their fixed places in the skies. I have spoken no word in the spirit of a partisan or a politician; but have sought to embrace within my vision the horizon of the future as well as of the present.

The mere politician judges of events by their immediate consequences—by their relation to himself and his party. Under our Constitution, the next four years in the politician's eternity. The next election is his judgment day. The blessedness of his future consists in an anticipated share of the $200,000,000 to be distributed from the National Treasury during the next presidential term, and in being one of the hundred thousand men who for the same period are to be elevated into conspicuousness, or to abide in their obscurity. But the eternity that I believe in will not end on the 4th of March 1856. Consequences are to flow from events now passing, which are unending in their nature and their influence. Interests are at stake infinitely more important than the temporary official prominence or obscurity of a hundred thousand men—infinitely more precious than $200,000,000, or two hundred millions of Californias, with golden Australias to boot. He only is worthy the name of statesman, he only is fit to preside over the affairs of a great nation, whose vision takes in the vast relations of cause and effect; whose judgment is determined by what must be, in the future, as well as by what exists in the present, and who never erects a superstructure of Constitution or law for the protection or the enjoyment of any human interest, without laying its foundations on the law of God.

Portland Inquirer.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1852.

The Flag of the Free!!



FOR PRESIDENT,

JOHN P. HALE.

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

FOR VICE PRESIDENT,

GEORGE W. JULIAN,

OF INDIANA.

ELECTORS AT LARGE,

SAMUEL FESSENDEN,
PETER TALBOT.

Dist. 1, CHARLES TRAFTON.
" 2, ABRAHAM A. BARKER.
" 3, THEOPHILUS CUSHING.
" 4, DRUMMOND FARNSWORTH.
" 5, OZIAS BLANCHARD.
" 6, JONATHAN H. ILSLEY.

CAMPAIGN PAPER.

Freemen now have the whole field, and they mean to occupy it. We now offer the *Inquirer* till the Nov. Election, FOUR COPIES FOR A DOLLAR, more or less. Friends of liberty, *now* is the time—*this is the chance.* Give the People knowledge. Give this paper the power to do its work. If all parts of the State will aid, we can have 3000 in ten days. And do not overlook the importance of increasing the regular subscribers. Everything depends upon it. Mr. Sumner's speech will be worth ten times the cost of the paper.

THE QUESTION. THE CRISIS.

The friends of freedom should see distinctly what *the* question before them is, in order to feel the full force of the obligations resting on them. Besides the claims of Three Millions of imbruted men; or the abolition of slavery in the District; or Territorial prohibition; or the general liberation of the government;—besides and above all these another issue goes this year to trial.

Until 1848 local hostility and general contempt were deemed sufficient obstacles to the anti-slavery cause; but that year gave it a power which required other treatment. Three Hundred Thousand votes was too much for the slave power of the country to withstand, either north or south. This free power must be broken and put down, or the slave power must yield. The case had become desperate.

To effect this object a coalition was entered into between the leaders of both the old parties at the north and the slave-holders, constituting an American "Holy Alliance." Their design was embodied in the "Compromise" or "Peace Measures," which were forced through Congress after nine months' struggle. This was a great point gained.

The next was to enlist the two great parties of the country in their organic capacity in the same dark conspiracy; and this was entirely effected at Baltimore. Here was another signal triumph. But one post of power yet remains, and only one—the *Ballot-Box.*

Let hostility to the despotism of slavery be broken and show but a feeble, dispirited [illegible] here and Com[illegible] will have f[illegible] The Au[illegible]ians will have the field til it shall be [illegible] by the cartridge-box perhaps half a [illegible] and Sumner and Mann and Giddings will speak—if at all—as Kossuth does, and to a people proved then to be too far debased for hope.—They will speak to slaves.

But let the Ballot-Box show in 1852 that the Army of Liberation *stands in all the strength of* 1848;—that the power of freedom is not broken, but only fortified by the war, and the slave power will have been utterly defeated in its last grand resort; its allies at the north will see the hopelessness of their position; the engine of public affairs will be gradually reversed, and Universal Liberty,

"Though but in distant prospect,"

begin to swell the bosom of patriotism and humanity. No matter who is elected, BOTH PARTIES WILL BE DEFEATED, AND SLAVERY WITH THEM!

Friends of God and Liberty! here is Thermopylæ:—are you ready for the sublime achievements to which Providence calls you? If so, UP—*speak*—*give*—*pray*—ACT.

TO BE FIRMLY RESISTED.

The slave parties, seeing the breach made in the ranks of the Free Democracy at the late elections, intend to make a vigorous assault upon the party for the November election. They flatter themselves that its unbending organic policy and life are laid aside for the temporary compromising philosophy of blind expediency; and if so they have only to divide the spoils.—They fancy having heard the social obligations of party compact, sacred when made for Liberty, treated lightly, and that at least a little sophistry may make the precedents of the late election perplexing and controlling upon many minds. They will say the party interposed its body between Dr. Hubbard and his opponents and is crushed. In these and a thousand other ways we are now to be pressed, not generally in public argumentation, but by private appliances of man upon man in detail.

Old party democrats, even those who have been most earnest in urging the present posture of things, will now be equally zealous in using it for these purposes. And the whigs will be especially active. They have already begun.—Their question is, "If you vote for Hubbard why not for Scott?" If there is any hesitation about the platform, *spit on it*. They have no sort of objection to that, and the remedy is perfect, especially with a few bottles of some patent Expectorant. The whigs who voted for Hubbard are to make the most of temperance sympathy with free soil men, and with those who are in danger of becoming such. We warn free men thus early of these measures, which if unresisted will be peculiarly effective. And we suggest the ways to oppose them.

Call a meeting *immediately* to promote the cause of Liberty. And if two come, then organize either a Freedom Club, or simply choose town or district committees. Begin a roll of free voters. Adopt plans for meetings in every school house to talk and read and to spread knowledge among the people. If you cannot get such public speakers as you would, *get such as you can*. Remember that personal influence must be met by the same. Know every free man. Persuade every man to do his duty. Fill your towns with *this paper* and with documents. Be liberal and be active. Do this and cheering results are ours.

REMEMBER that we have offered the name of as responsible a witness as there is Maine, that less than a year ago he saw Frank Pierce drunk, on condition that his party papers would publish it, but no one dares accept the challenge. Tell this to the people.

REMEMBER THIS, that for the first time in our country's history the people are to meet almost *exclusively* at the ballot-box the great questions of *Liberty and Slavery*, and show the world which side they take. What shall be the fearful record?

KEEP IT BEFORE FREEMEN, that they have but about *five short weeks* in which to do all the work of the Campaign.

REMEMBER, that it will require each Free Democrat to secure but *one* more, to give freedom the control of the State!

REMEMBER that oppressed millions appeal to us to *work* and to *give* now for their relief.

REMEMBER that whoever casts a vote for either of the old parties casts it into the bottomless pit under the Baltimore Platforms.

REMEMBER that to pray against slavery and vote the old party tickets is mockery.

IN SEASON.—Electoral Tickets better be obtained early.

☞ Our danger is that freemen will "think" about doing something till it is too late to do anything.

☞ John Van Buren is to make a speech this week at Augusta. We should think every honorable democrat would scorn the aid of such deceivers.

APPALLING!—It is estimated that in the 21 steamboat calamities in 1852, 750 lives have been lost, besides the injuries.

☞ The Whig speech by Erastus Brooks, Esq., of New York, the other evening was cold. We suggest to whig speakers not to glorify as high patriotism Fillmore's flagrant apostacy and public treachery to freedom.

CHEERS FOR SACO!—That old town has leaped ahead of all other places in the State.—Two Hundred and Twenty votes were cast for Gen. Fessenden for Congress, and they tell us they "have not begun to fight." They have just formed a Freedom Club. Give Saco the banner!

☞ Correspondence and local matters must yield just now to higher claims.

☞ Let us hear in five lines what is doing in all the towns.

☞ SEE the notice for the American Missionary Meeting at Bangor, next week, and be there if possible. A supply of Giddings' and Mann's Speeches will be there at E. F. Duren's. Supply the east. We hope to be there.

☞ All remembrance of differences should now pass away and all hearts blend into one.—No court martials on the field in presence of the enemy, where every man is ready to become a hero!

THE WOMEN MUST HELP!

They were made on purpose. Why should they—how *can* they look coldly on while humanity toils to heave off the terrible burden of brutality from a million and a half of females? Ladies, have you not courage to defy the sneers of doughfaced politicians? Then help by your influence and your efforts the cause of the free. Collect the means at once to supply your towns with those masterly documents. Show the heart of a true sister, mother and wife. We appeal to you for aid. Of course every woman goes for the gallant *Hale* and *Julian*, but her

THE ELECTIONS.

It is useless to insert the returns in detail, for they are very imperfect, and when perfect will not look very pleasing on the Governor vote. In 331 towns they stand, Hubbard 37,654, Crosby 25,959, Chandler 19,791.

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS stand thus:

1st. District, Moses McDonald, democrat.
2d " Samuel Mayall, "
3d " E. Wilder Farley, whig.
4th " Samuel P. Benson, "
5th " Israel Washburn, Jr. "
6th " T. J. D. Fuller, democrat

We can get no clue at the Free Democratic vote in the several districts except in York county. There we had the largest vote ever cast in the county. It will probably reach near 1200! If the rest of the State did as well we shall have a *noble vote*. The old parties keeping it back as they do is a good sign. It evidently does not look right to them.

In the 2d District the slave parties stood:—Democrat 6,182, Whig 5531. This demonstrates as we said, the worse than folly of freemen voting for Gilman, as we fear some did.

In the 3d District (a very few places excepted) the same parties stand, whig 5,100, Kimball, democrat, 4,543, Smith, do. 3723.

In the 5th District, whig 6276, Waterhouse, (dem.) 2190, Strickland, do. 3626.

LEGISLATURE.—The Argus says the House stands 81 democrats, 58 whigs, 12 to be heard from. The Advertiser says 79 democrats, 65 whigs, 7 to be heard from.

The Senate appears to stand, free soil 1, whigs 13, democrats 8, vacancies 9. These are to be filled by selecting from twice the number of the highest candidates. The candidates in this county are Vinton (free soil) Lowell (whig,) Ingersol (rum whig,) Mann, Dunnells (dem.) Hazen, Strout, (rum dem.)

How many free Representatives are chosen we know not. There are two in Kennebec county, Wilson of Wayne, and Spear of West Gardiner.

Every thing was yielded on these elections to the Maine Law, and a large number of the whig gains are thus to be explained.

ELECTION IN VERMONT.

No Governor is elected by the people. The legislature is strongly whig. A large portion of the democrats have gone back to the service of slavery. The vote of the Free Democracy is about 10,000, and they have a large number of representatives. The *Freeman* thus speaks of the prospects of the whig party:

"In the presidential year of 1840, the Whig party, at their State election, rolled up a majority of about 8000. This presidential year, with a national candidate equally strong and popular as General Harrison, if we can trust their own statements, their ticket is defeated by nearly or quite a thousand! We leave them to make the calculation for themselves, how long, at this rate, this 'bright, particular star' of Whiggery is to be numbered among the orbs of the political heavens."

THE FIELD IS OURS.

For many long years liberty had to struggle with questions of policy real or pretended, of the old parties. Now they are all out of the way. The leaders have been excavating among the ruins of their old Babylons and Ninevehs, but no live thing can be found to delude the people. The only real question now is, LIBERTY OR SLAVERY. How ought freemen to act?

NO ARGUMENT.

We hesitate not to affirm that neither of the old parties has a respectable argument before the people. Every effort is poverty and imbecility fit only for the people to laugh at. To encounter the Free Democracy they cannot—*dare* not, and nothing is left but sham and small at that.

☞ Cannot county committees aid the distribution of documents?

TO THE FRIENDS OF LIBERTY IN MAINE.

A fresh consecration, a new baptism to the holy cause of Freedom is now imperiously demanded. The piercing cry of millions of our brethren in bonds demands it. The chilling appeal of the wife ruthlessly torn from the embrace of her husband, of the husband inhumanly snatched from the wife of his bosom, demands it. The agonizing shriek of the child violently separated from his terror-stricken and disconsolate parents demands it. Outraged justice demands it. Imploring humanity demands it. The holy God demands it. No patriot, no christian can fail to recognize this unutterable claim upon his active benevolence.—Better that he had never been born than be deaf to this urgent entreaty. Terrible indeed must be the doom of him, to whom the withering language of Inspiration justly applies:—"Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me."

A Liberty Club has lately been formed in Portland, and FRIDAY EVENING of every week has been set apart and consecrated to the sacred cause of Liberty. Let *all* the liberty men of this city come up to this baptism. Let similar associations be formed and faithfully maintained in every town in the State, and soon the jubilee shout of emancipation will resound through every portion of the land.

☞ The *Democratic Advocate* will find a part of our reply to its charge of slander in the letter from N. H. Tell the people of Maine that party leaders are cheating upon them a drunken President! Horrible work!!

We call on the press of N. H. to say plainly and without insinuations whether these things are so. Does this letter tell the truth or does it not? We ask the Concord *Statesman*, *Patriot*, *Democrat*, *Crusader*, are these things so?—If they are it is treason to keep the people in doubt or ignorance of them. Are they so?

WORK FOR FREE GIRLS.—Mrs. Stowe's beautiful tract, "*The Two Altars*," (1776 and 1850,) (see advertisement) is just the thing for free girls to circulate. It would do great good, and they know how to obtain the means to put it in every family. It is written in her most fascinating style, and no person can read it, especially when presented by a lady, without a deep impression in his heart against slavery and the atrocious slave law. Now girls show young men how to work for liberty.

"TRIUMPH IN THE ART."—The *Republican* (!) Journal thus speaks of Pierce's letter of acceptance, in which he pledges himself soul and body to slavery and slave hunting, not an act of his life being in conflict with the platform:

"It is beautiful in diction, tasteful in language and sentiment, and *democratic in idea*. Indeed this letter itself is a triumph in the art of epis-

SPEECHES!—SPEECHES!!

By accident our notice last week of a new edition of *Mr. Giddings's Great Speech* failed to appear. Included in the same tract is the Free Democratic Platform, the Slavery Platforms with the endorsement of the candidates, and an abstract of the scoundrel act. Price $1 per 100, pp 16. Unequalled for general circulation.

Horace Mann's Masterly Speech, pp. 24, $1,25 per 100. We need say nothing of this, only—*give it to the people!* It will be among the slavery parties what Sampson's three hundred foxes with their fire brands were to the "standing corn of the Philistines."

These Speeches are done up for extensive reading at much expense, relying on the good sense and integrity of the friends of freedom to relieve us and do the cause an incalculable benefit. In such an appeal we never failed.—Divine Providence has placed these unequaled tools in our hands—*shall they not be used?*

We shall take up *Mr. Sumner's* Speech forthwith, and if the orders for the others, from all parts of the State, indicate that it will be safe, we shall publish 5000 copies in tract. We beg most earnestly for instant action, and for the means to send these documents where they will not be ordered.

LOCAL ACTION!

This is our chief reliance. Public action great meetings, great speeches we will have, but the main chance rests on the *Town and School Districts*—on the action of *man upon man*—on the ONE-MAN POWER. If THIS is well employed the advance of freedom will be noble and decisive. Do not forget this nor stop to dream over it. EVERY MAN must act, and act *now*. Money now is morally worth 1000 per cent. premium, and time more than that. The next four weeks may be worth all the rest of your life.

Remember that no person can go over this great State and wake you up in Franklin, Piscataquis, Aroostook, Washington, Somerset, &c., but you must be *self-moved* or not move at all.

COMING!

A letter from Hon. Samuel Lewis of Ohio, informs us that he will accept the invitations and visit N. England, staying about two weeks. The west does not afford a more worthy, eloquent, able man than Mr. Lewis, and when he comes to Maine we will show him how down easters do things.

The noble Giddings will probably come with Mr. Lewis, and it will be worth going 100 miles to see him. Get ready.

Then we expect Mr. Julian, our Vice President, one of the most effective stump orators of the west, where they grow indiginous. We hope to announce definite arrangements next week. For Lewis and Giddings we suggest a grand rally on the Penobscot, the Kennebec, and in Cumberland. Freemen of Maine, *wake up!*

WHAT THE PARTIES HAVE DONE.

They have forsworn the freedom of speech and of the press:

Surrendered the vital principles of Territorial Prohibition which has saved to our country nearly all that remains to liberty:

Withdrawn all opposition to the extension of slavery, and the increase of slave States:

Converted the government of Washington and Jefferson into a man-hunting police, and the citizens into contingent scoundrels or martyrs:

They have yielded the flag of Paul Jones, Decatur and Perry, to protect forever the wailing cargoes of despair on the sea:

They have contracted for perpetual slavery and slave-trading around the nation's capitol:

They have exalted the "sum of all villanies" into a national institution:

They have bound themselves with the oath of their own existence to serve as a body guard to the slave power;—to crush if they can the first emotion, and smite the mouth which utters the first word against its pretentions *be they what they may:*

They have agreed to resist and hunt down the very principles which in the north *constituted their only faith but four years ago:*

And their only real element of strife now is, the comparative "alacrity" with which these shameless obligations shall be discharged as the price of office at the hands tyranny.

Honest men of Maine! Will you sustain such principles and parties? Dare you do it and meet your last account? *Vote against them!*—VOTE AGAINST THEM!! VOTE AGAINST THEM!!!

YEAS AND NAYS on *Mr. Sumner's motion to repeal the fugitive act.*—Yeas—Messrs. CHASE, HALE, SUMNER and WADE—4.

Nays—Messrs. Adams, Badger, Bayard, Bell, Borland, Bradbury, Bright, Broadhead, Brooke, Butler, Cass, Charlton, Clarke, Clements, Cooper, Dawson, De Saussure, Dodge, of Iowa, Douglas, Felch, Fish, Geyer, Gwin, Hamlin, Houston, Hunter, James, Janes, of Iowa, King, Mallory, Mangum, Mason, Merriweather, Miller, Morton, Pearce, Pratt, Rusk, Shields, Smith, Soule, Spruance, Toucey, Underwood, Upham, Walker and Weller—47.

Honor to the memorable 4! Mr. Seward "had engaged to dine out." We are told Mr. Hamlin deeply regrets his vote, and if so he will sincerely sympathize with his friends.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION.

The sixth annual meeting of the American Missionary Association will be held in the first Congregational meeting-house, Bangor, Me., commencing Wednesday, Sept. 29th, at 2 o'clock, P. M.

The annual sermon will be preached Wednesday evening, and the usual anniversary exercises will be held on Thursday evening. The business meetings of the Society will occupy the time Wednesday Afternoon and Thursday. Messrs. J. Allen, G. A. Thatcher, Rev. Philip Weaver, and O. H. Ingalls are a Committee of Arrangements at Bangor.

Delegates are requested to call on their arrival, at the Bookstore of E. F. Duren, Maine street, where directions will be given them to places of entertainment.

Any person of evangelical sentiments, who professes faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, who is not a slaveholder, or in the practice of other immoralities, and who contributes to the funds, may have a vote in the Society's operations, and in the choice of its officers.

Many reasons combine to render a large attendance of members at this time exceedingly desirable, and it is hoped that a full meeting may be secured.

GEORGE WHIPPLE, Co. Sec.

Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin" is [illegible] an unprecedented run in England. The [illegible]

NEW HAMPSHIRE CORRESPONDENCE. GEN. PIERCE.

For the Portland Inquirer.

In a campaign paper, printed at the Capital of this State, called the *Concord Tribune*, I saw an extract from your paper, Mr. Editor, which I much admired, in which you express fears that *a new era* is about to be introduced in Presidential matters,—"*the era of Presidential dissipation.*" The whole scope of that article, copied from your paper, met my views exactly, and I was so rejoiced to see the bold stand taken by you, that I resolved to send you an article for your paper. Please give it a place in your columns, that temperance men in Maine may know how one of the candidates for the Presidency is considered in his native State.

While speaking of Gen. Pierce you say, "*He is an intemperate man, and his friends know it.*" Yes, Sir, they know it and cannot deny it. His reputation in all parts of the State is the same, and it is well understood that intemperance was the moving cause which led to his resigning his seat in the Senate before his term expired. I have always heard that very near and dear friends of his, would not consent to his remaining at Washington longer; and I now hear it said that, on the part of these same dear friends, there is no wish that he should ever return to Washington to reside again.

I have recently seen certificates said to have been circulated freely in your State, giving assurances that Gen. P. is not an intemperate man, but not a paper friendly to him, in this State, has dared to copy those certificates, lest it disgust his friends to read the misrepresentation, or else it might draw out facts of a startling character from the temperance men of this State,—of *Concord even*, his place of residence. Gen. Pierce, with a short exception of a part of a year, has ever sustained the reputation among those who knew him well, of being fond of intoxicating drink and of gambling; yet his social qualities have ever made him companionable. This I presume no friend will deny, who has been much with him at Courts, at Rail Road references, on public occasions anywhere; or while he was a member of the New Hampshire Legislature, in Congress, or wherever else men fond of drinking and card playing were to be found, where standing in society was reputable in other matters.

I have recently been assured of some most deplorable scenes in which he has appeared, and which, I am fully assured, can be named, and will not be denied, where parties in interest have been put to great delay and expense as well as inconvenience, because he was not in a condition to attend to the business assigned him by reason of a too free use of intoxicating drinks; and I here pledge myself to name some of them, if any respectable paper in New Hampshire supporting him for the Presidency, will deny the truth of what I here assert. I will name places, and persons present. Upon this matter I speak plainly, because I know I speak the truth, and he and his friends have challenged discussion on this matter in your State, by circulating there certificates intended to deceive the friends of Temperance, a matter they will not attempt to do in this State. This insult to the understandings of the brave and glorious temperance men of Maine, should lose him the confidence of every one intended to be deceived by the *Walker* and *Williams'* certificates.

I desire here to make an extract from the *New Hampshire Telegraph*, an ably edited Whig paper published at Nashua in this (Hillsborough) county, which is part of an article in reply to a Pierce paper, called the *Capitol Reporter*, published in Concord. After alluding to the many certificates sent broadcast over the land, touching Gen. P.'s mishaps in Mexico, and his New Boston Anti-Slavery Speech, the Editor of the Telegraph, says:

"Then the certificates to bolster up his character for temperance and sobriety. Who has uttered *one half the truth* in relation to that matter? Who has said, or printed, or intimated a thing in regard to that, that the editor of the Reporter, does not, of his own knowledge, know to be true? The matter is too notorious in this county, at least, to require certificates, or anything else. We have not seen the first democrat who denies it, and we have heard the thing charged by those who know the matter, where of they affirm, in the strongest possible language. And this is a serious matter. It touches his qualification for the office to which he aspires. A man who mortifies his friends and makes a fool of himself before public bodies, and by his foolishness injures the interest of his employers, is not the fittest man in the world for President. These things have not been done in a chimney corner."

Now, Mr. Editor, the above was published long enough ago to have received notice, if it could be answered, for the Telegraph, I dare say, is read in every Democratic printing office in New Hampshire, and yet not a word has appeared, although the Telegraph is a highly respectable paper. The language is bold, and the charge is a serious one—"*mortifies his friends*"—"*makes a fool of himself before public bodies*"—"*by his foolishness injures the interest of his employers.*"

Now, is a man fit for the Presidency whose friends deem it proper to send certificates of his habits into States where he is not known, and at the same time, cannot meet charges so strong and so openly made as the above in his own State?

A writer in the Telegraph, in a later number than the one from which the above extract was made, while alluding to Gen. P.'s habits, says:

"It will be recollected that Gen. Pierce came to this place, Nashua, to attend a rail road meeting, in May, 1850, and at that time his dishevelled hair, with his habiliments most shockingly wrinkled, his countenance indicating anything but serenity of mind, and his most lamentable appearance, all shew that he was not a temperance man. And, speaking of rail-road meetings, I might mention one held at Milford, which the General attended as counsel for the corporation, when his appearance was anything but that of a temperance man; and his unmentionable mishap at night while attending that trial, is still fresh in the minds of some of our citizens, and would strongly fortify the position that he is not a temperance man. And it will be remembered by some that the General was obliged to tarry with one of his friends at North Chelmsford, Mass., from Saturday evening until Monday morning, all on account of his not being a temperance man. But it is only necessary to glance at this matter in order to set it right. No set of men should undertake to create a point in a man's character, for by so doing they lay open the very things of all others, that they are seeking to cover up; and it looks as though some of the General's friends were trying to kill him, by getting up certificates which expose his *weak points*."

This is all New Hampshire talk, and no one denies it,—no one doubts its truth: and language like it, to any amount, is upon the tongues of people in all the villages which have been visited by the nominee for the Presidency during the last fifteen or twenty years.

By the following item, cut from the *Concord (N. H.) Tribune*, it appears a "*certificate*" was denied to be inserted into a certain temperance paper, not named, probably to be used at a dis-

in a *New Hampshire Temperance paper*, would have told well for the nominee. We copy from the Tribune:

"There is one instance, however, of which we have positive knowledge, that a DISTINCT REWARD WAS OFFERED FOR A TEMPERANCE CERTIFICATE, to be published in a certain Temperance newspaper. JOHN H. GEORGE, General Pierce's man Friday, *was one of the parties*, and like or the friends of General Pierce dare deny this charge, they shall hear more of it. He or they would not like to meet that other party of the witness stand, we reckon."

These are New Hampshire facts, alluded to by New Hampshire people and, *starch the declaration*, unanswered by the friends of Gen. P. in his own State.

HILLSBOROUGH.

For the Peterboro Courier.

THE PITTSBURG CONVENTION.

MR. WILLEY:—In your paper of the 9th, in giving an interesting account of the proceedings of the Convention, you say:

"How the dodge shall have terminated, but after dinner, General Pain, of Wisconsin, mistaking both himself and the occasion, objected to some remarks made after Mr. Lewis Kasson offered several innocent amendments for the purpose of harmony. This, as was foreseen by others, only caused the affair to drag heavily, for about two hours of fearful parting, to and fro, more, but after adding a slight alteration or two it swayed back, and under the vigorous, skilful action of the President, it finally took a short, sharp turn, and through with very great unanimity."

I claim a little space in your columns to correct some errors in the above sentiments, into which you have inadvertently fallen. It was expected by the Convention that the first business of the last afternoon session would be a speech from Hon C F. ADAMS, in support of the majority report. Foreseeing that this would lead to a reply, and that the proceedings might be protracted to another day, I ventured to suggest some amendments, with a view, as you say, to harmony, and also to the dispatch of business. During the recess I read them to Mr. Adams, and afterwards to Mr. Gerrit Smith and to Mr. Giddings — all of them consenting to and approving them. Thus fortified I introduced them with brief remarks, and was sustained by the gentlemen above named. Contrary to my expectations an excited debate took place, during which, however, the question on the amendments came very near, three times, being carried in the affirmative. It was, the most objectionable resolution, viz: that which stated that the General Government had *located and limited* slavery, was stricken out; a resolution respecting the imprisonment of colored seamen was substituted for the original resolution on that subject; and a modification of the resolution respecting the sinfulness and criminality of slavery was made. Had the *substitution* instead of the *modification* been carried I believe greater satisfaction would have been given to a large majority of the anti-slavery people of the country.

L. T.

We have yet see my very important error of G. L. opinion is another thing. Mr. Adams and Mr. Giddings both regretted their assent to the amendments when being to what they led, and rejoiced that the Convention returned to anchorage on the majority-platform with so little loss. So difficult is it for so large a convention and in such circumstances to construct wise resolutions. Begging pardon of our esteemed correspondent, we think as the change went in relation to colored seamen, weakened the injured the Platform. But we have no space, and must be excused for omitting the quotation on that account, and because we did not publish the reported debate of which it is a correction.

LETTER FROM HON. JOHN P. HALE.

Though we have repeatedly declared, on what we knew to be good authority, that John P. Hale accepts the nomination which was so unanimously given to him by the Pittsburg Convention, yet we take great pleasure in buying before the public the following conclusive testimony to the fact. We presume it will satisfy those, if any there be, who have still had doubts of his acceptance of the nomination:—

DOVER, N. H., Sept 6, 1852.

MY DEAR SIR.—When I wrote to my friend G. G. Fogg, Esq., of Concord, prior to the Pittsburg Convention, declining in anticipation any nomination by that body, I supposed that I should not have occasion again to trespass on the attention of any one, on that subject. The decision which I then announced was not only in accordance with my own taste and judgment, but was also in pursuance of the earnest and oft-repeated request or those whose wishes I felt bound to respect, viz: my wife and children. I had supposed that I had, after that letter was written, that the close of my present term of service in the Senate would close forever my political career, and that the brief period which remained to me might be left to repose and that event, might not be disturbed by any attempt on the part of my friends to introduce my name into the contests and struggles of a Presidential election.

But the members of that Convention, with singular unanimity, have judged differently. Such being the case, and the friends with whom I sympathise having determined upon the great interests of Free Labor and Constitutional Liberty may be best promoted by a course different from that indicated by myself, I have not felt at liberty, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, to stand up my own opinion in direct opposition to such an overwhelming expression of my friends. I therefore yield my own wishes and opinions to those of my friends, and thus assent to what has been so done, notwithstanding my private refusal to consent thus to do. I will also consent that my name might be done I will also consent to say, and through you to that portion of the public who may feel any interest in the matter, that to the inquiries which may be made of me, as to my views as to those which have already been made, as to what my opinions are on various subjects, I have no answer to make. I suppose that those who nominated me did it from a conviction of my fitness for the office, and a knowledge of what I had done, rather than any fitness I might be supposed to possess in making pledges and promises for the future. But if I were ever so disposed to enter the lists and contend with those who deal in promises and pledges, and professions of fidelity to the cause we espouse I could hardly hope to come up to the standard of those made by men prominent in our ranks four years ago, but which have been since forgotten, and trampled upon by those who made them, in their hot haste to curry favor themselves under a banner upon which are inscribed sentiments and principles, seven-fold more odious and abominable than those against which they have revolted.

Very respectfully,

Your friend

JOHN P. HALE.

HON. HENRY WILSON, President of the Free Democratic National Convention.

Uncle Tom's Cabin has been dramatized and drawn to highly large houses at the National theater in New York. The representation is said to be gotten up well; and the New York Herald declares it is received with rounds of applause.

FREEDOM ADVANCING!!

GLORIOUS FROM MASSACHUSETTS!

The old Bay State still holds the same place in the army of freedom that she did in 1776. The flower of the State, as then, is in its ranks. The Free Democratic State Convention last week at Lowell exceeded in enthusiasm any seen of the kind in the State We have no room for details. The day was wet, but that impaired not the determined energy of freemen. Banners and music enlivened the scene; the City Hall, the Mammouth Tent, were crowded, and good cheer was on every countenance. The Worcester Freedom Club of 1000 came in with banners, music, transparencies, flowers, &c.— Some of the mottoes were, "WE ARE BOUND TO AGITATE, WHAT ARE WE BOUND TO DO ABOUT IT?" "TE HALE AND JULIAN" "FREEDOM TO AMERICAN INDUSTRY BY PROTECTING THE RIGHTS OF THE MEN OF TOIL"

Able and brilliant speeches were made by Messrs. Sumner, Wilson, Howe, Palfrey, Mann, Dana, Kasson, and others, and much we shall publish.

Hon. Horace Mann was nominated for Governor. *Seventy-three and sixty-*one votes were cast for delegates! The whole mass meeting was said to be 5000! It is affirmed that Mr. Mann will be elected, and a true man be chosen for the U. S. Senate.

Three—six—nine cheers for the old Bunker Hill State! !

WAYNE, Sept. 12, 1852.

BR. WILLEY:—We have met the enemy and he is ours. Thomas Wilson, an *out and out* Free Soil Temperance Maine Law man, is elected Representative to our State Legislature, by 54 majority, and Gov. Hubbard has 9 majority over all others—45 votes more than he could in town.

J. STANTON.

☞ Thomas H. Adams and others, of Randolph, Vt., have erected a flag staff 100 feet high, with a banner flying from the top, and at an elevation of about 100 feet, a banner inscribed to Hale and Julian, with the motto of "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men," beneath.

ILLINOIS.—The Free Democracy of Illinois held a State Convention on the 26th ult., for the nomination of State officers and an Electoral Ticket. The Chicago Daily Times says:

The State Convention of the New Free Democratic party of Illinois, closed yesterday, after a session of two days in Hall's Hall, Chicago, in which the most enthusiastic, respectable and exciting convention ever held in this State A day of prosperity has certainly dawned upon the cause of Freedom and Democracy in this State. There fifteen hundred men from fifteen counties assembled. A full delegation from each county was present.

PENNSYLVANIA.—A Convention of the Free Democracy of Allegheny County, was held in Shinkey's on Wednesday the 8th inst., at which S. S. Shields, Esq., presided. The gathering on the occasion was large, and the proceedings were characterized by a high degree of spirit and unanimity.

OHIO.—An Ohio correspondent of the *New York Tribune* says:

"In one County of our State, where Cass beat Taylor 1000 votes, Scott will now beat Pierce, *and Hale will poll more votes than either. Many Cass men are now Hale men.*"

NEW YORK CITY. The Free Soilers of the city held a meeting at the Tammon building, Broadway. John Brown, Esq., presiding. Addresses were made by Messrs. Marshall, W. J. Dawlig, Dana, and others. The following arrangements are reported for the organization and action during the present year.

MASSACHUSETTS. Free soil speeches go like hot cakes. The Commonwealth Office has sold 30,000 copies of Mann's speech, 20,000 of Sumner's, and 19,000 of Summer's, and the demand for them continues unabated. This is just the time to circulate documents, for all hands in the town see that this work is attended to.

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The papers of the past week, announce four weekly Journals in the different States, hitherto belonging to the old parties, or neutral, as boasting the Hale and Julian flag. Success to the heathen, and infidelity we shall see. The country is every where moving for freedom.—*Free man.*

CLEVELAND, Sept. 17

Hon. J. P. Hale and S. P. Chase are in town. Mr. Hale addresses the Mechanic Institute Association to-morrow night.

BOSTON, Sept. 16, 1852.

George Hood, Esq., of Lynn, (a Free Soiler,) was nominated in Congress by the Democrats of the Second District, in Convention yesterday at Salem.

Extracts from a distinguished citizen of Berkshire Mass:

"Our friends here are in high spirits. The speech of Mann and Sumner, charged as they are with the electricity of truth and liberty, have aroused them for the battle. From all accounts, we are confident of an increased vote. There is no enthusiasm among the old parties. The people cannot be stirred, because there is nothing in the success of either, worthy of thought or effort. The people feel it. They see the same, sagacious faces and coat of the Baltimore nominations."

MELROSE MASS.—A correspondent describes the condition of the Whigs and the Old Bunkers, of this place, as any thing but prosperous, while the Free Democracy is in a very flourishing state. On Monday evening a tremendous meeting was held in the hall under the Methodist church, for the purpose of forming a "Hale and Utah" club, which proceeded to do its utmost capacity, and great unanimity prevailed.

HOOKSETT, N. H.—Our friends in this town are making a gallant rally for free speech and freemen They have organized a Freemen Club and elected an excellent board of officers.

The Vermont *Freeman* says the writer of the following has been one of the leading politicians of Vermont for many years.

NOTICE TO THE VERMONT DEMOCRATS OF VERMONT.

Whereas, I have acted with the Democratic party of Vermont, without shadow or turning since the days of Thomas Jefferson, whose disciple, after the straightest sect, I have ever been and whereas the National Democratic party, at their late Baltimore Convention, most manifestly apostasized from the leading fundamental principles of the Jefferson Creed, in their base and fiendish Slavery to the Extent of the Gag Law above Freedom of Speech.—Now, to the end, that my political associates, who have lived on the best and beck of the False Gods of Baltimore and started off on the old Democratic Road of John Adams Federalism, may know where to find me, when the scales fall from their eyes, so as to permit them to return to truth and liberty, I hereby notify them one and all, that they will find me just where they left me in their blindness, left me, standing squarely on the Jefferson Platform, and supporting John P. Hale and George W. Julian for President and Vice President, of the United States.

NOEL WINCH.

Northfield, Sept. 14th, 1852.

STILL THEY COME! The Worcester Spy says, at the meeting of the Free Dem Club the other evening, Mr. C. E. Briggs, who has formerly acted with the Hunker Democracy, which addressed the meeting, stating the reasons why he could not support the Baltimore Platform and the nominees of the Baltimore Convention.

A Magnificent Scheme Nipped by an Untimely Frost.

Rumor says, the Hunkers (self-styled "Liberals") confidently expected that they should carry the State at the late elections; Chandler was to have been Governor, and a regular Hunker ticket was chosen, from the Secretaries down to the sweepers and dusters; and ☞ Mr. Pitmen Barnes was to have been United States Senator for six years.—☜

That bladder has laughed wind all let out.

[Watch man.

WHIG STATE CONVENTION IN N. H.

"Cordially and Fully." The following is the first resolution of the series passed by the recent whig convention at Concord, showing, as in Massachusetts, that the party fully intend to abide by their compact with the slave power. And this will be the case till the people rebel at the ball-t-box.

"*Resolved*, That believing a general and harmonious action necessary to the existence of a national party, and the triumphant success of its principles, we pledge ourselves to a CORDIALITY and FULLY the action of the late National Whig Convention at Baltimore.

WHIG PROGRESS FATHER SHOWS.—The Boston Atlas says:

"The great question never was a *principle* of national policy, by the Whigs.

The only one remaining only a few sentiments in Massachusetts and Georgia, who are doing what they can to renew the controversy for their own sake, and personal ends and on any advantage, but when compared with the great masses of the people, are as insignificant in numbers, as their objects are dark and base."

HOW THEY UNDERSTAND IT.

The *La. Minerva* says:

I could never conceive how the democrats and silk and water whigs could for a moment object to Scott on the plea of abolitionism; unless the low level and vast grandeur of mediocrity, who has emphatically declared that he will support the Compromise, and who intimated that he would enforce justice from the North, and suppress nullification in the South.

THE EJECTIONS.—The Oxford Democrat thus testifies to the triumph of the People over Party

"There has been almost an entire disregard of the old doctrine of strict adherence to regular nominations. But a have not time to enlarge upon this subject at present."

One of our Western exchanges, after giving Gen. Pierce's *Do Less* letter says:

"We presume no Southern slaveholder or Northern doughface will hereafter doubt Gen. Pierce's soundness on the slavery question. If he has not in writing his letter, he proved himself a fit man for chasing negro women and children."

C. M. CLAY.

The latest intelligence announces that this noble champion of freedom is better of his late illness. This is cheering. In this important crisis we could not well spare so gallant a soldier. A Kentuckian, a neighbor and a friend of Clay, it was at Clay's house that the first threats had been made to assassinate him. That a violent death was anticipated. And yet the brave man was determined to labor for freedom, to the extent of his power. Noble champion in a noble cause; millions yet unborn will bless his name when the oppressor is forgotten.

MR. SUMNER'S SPEECH.—The favorable testimony of an enemy is exceedingly valuable.—Here is what a Virginia paper, the Alexandria *Telegraph* says of Mr. Sumner's speech:

"The speech of Mr. Sumner on the repeal of the fugitive slave law is conceded on all sides to be the ablest that was ever delivered in Congress on the same side of the question. It will produce a powerful and incalculable mischief — Southern members of Congress have been heard to remark that it would do more injury than all the clamor of the Abolitionists. Thousands and thousands of copies of this speech will be issued in pamphlet form and scattered broadcast over the free States.

WHAT A STRANGE KNOT.—A boy at Norwich is literally *his own grandfather!* It is in this wise: There was a widow named Lord (Jemima) and a man (George) and his son (Henry). The widow married the son, and the widow is then fore mother (in-law) to her husband's son, and consequently, of course, mother to her own husband (Henry) By this time she had a son David to whom she was great-grandmother. Now, as the son of a great-grandmother, he must be either a grand-father or great uncle, this boy (David) was one or the other. He is his own grandfather.

NORFOLK, Sept. 14th.—*Kidnapping.*—A negro was kidnapped from a British schooner, midway in the harbor on Saturday evening, by Charles Brown, a waiter of schooner Alexandria, and sold at this place Brown is in jail.

MISSISSIPPI, Sept. 14th. — *Southern Rights Nominations.*—At the Southern Rights Convention, last evening, George M. Troupe, of Georgia, was nominated for President, and General Linzman, for Vice President. The choice was unanimously ratified. Electors were appointed and the Convention adjourned.

Marshal Haynau died on Sunday last in Paris at a party where a number of distinguished officers were present. Just as after dinner speech he declared, on his honor as a soldier, that he never ordered a lady to be flogged.

FATAL RAILROAD ACCIDENT.—WARREN Goodnow, formerly of Portland, Me., was killed on the L. S. & M. S. R. R. Road, at the South Berwick Junction. He attempted to jump on the train, while in motion, and was thrown down. The cars passed over his body and cut off both his legs. He was a landscape painter by profession.

INTEMPERANCE IN MASSACHUSETTS.—The whole number of persons committed to jails and houses of correction in the Commonwealth for intemperance, for the ten years, ending Nov. 1, 1852, was 51,239.

William K. Boyle, a citizen extensively known throughout Baltimore, died very suddenly, Sunday morning, while asking a blessing at the table, expiring before he had met his family for nearly seventy years.

The London correspondent of the *National Intelligencer* says, Chevalier Claussen's fine company is progressing very favorably; all the stars have left except Jenny Lind, and she is in want amount of capital for carrying on business next up. Extensive works at Bromley, in Middlesex, have been taken, and will soon be in operation.

THE LATE MR. RANTOUL.—The Boston correspondent of the N. Y. *Herald* Senator Haswell devotes a portion of his last letter to Mr. Rantoul. He says that though the immediate occasion of his death was unexpected, yet the event was not unquestionably his rejection by the Baltimore Democratic Convention.

CHICAGO, Ill., Sept. 1852.

The Democratic Convention of this District nominated Hon. John Wentworth for reelection to Congress.

The True Democrat, (Cleveland) says:—"There are 31 women in the United States, holding the office of Postmaster; and 31 of these are in Pennsylvania. So it seems that all the offices are not monopolized by the masculine gender, even now.

The Panama says it has intelligence from the heavy planters in the State, that nearly one-third of the cotton crop has been destroyed by rot and other rains.

Daniel Webster has instituted a suit against the city of New Orleans for the recovery of $35,000, as a fee for legal services in the Gaines case.

UTICA, Sept. 16, 1852.

The New York State Temperance Alliance adjourned to-day, after passing resolutions to memorialize Congress for the prohibition of the importation of liquors.

"Early in life Gen. Pierce began to imbibe the true spirit of New England!"—*Portland Argus.*

"Well he might when it cost only twenty-eight cents a gallon!"—*Detroit Advertiser.*

☞ Delirium tremens killed one hundred and fifty persons in the New York City, during the last year. At the same length of time, there were nine murders caused by rum and nearly ten thousand five hundred committed to jail for drunkenness.

NEWS FROM CASTLE GARDEN.

The last *Herald of the Union* thus talks to the South and confesses to the world the *motive* of the cry about the *Union in danger.*

"But does the South expect that the North, that her friends at the North, that the only the resolute, the National men of the North, are going every season to our future Congresses to insult her constitutions under their noses, and to defy, and see the bones and ashes of Faneuil Hall shamed in its face for his reward and more, to see his name deliberately ostracised in the National Convention of the Whig party by Southern votes? Does the South expect that all the great national men of the North are going to live a hundred years longer, and every year to supply the South with a new and more strigent Fugitive Slave law."

THE AMERICAN BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSION.

The annual meeting of this Board commenced its session on Tuesday, at Troy, N. Y. The exercises of the morning were on Friday. There is one gratifying circumstance, under which the board met, and that is, its freedom from debt. At the commencement of the year, the Society owed $44,000 that has all been aquidated.

During the year, six of the esporned members have died; 44 ordained and 23 assistant missionaries have been sent out for the first time; and five missionaries and four assistants have returned to their old stations. There are now under appointment, and expecting to be sent abroad, 14 males and 13 females.

The receipts of the Board for the year, ending July 31st were $301,752—an advance on the previous year of $23,000. The expenditures, including the reduction of the debt, amount within 5 dollars of the sum.

There are connected with the Board, 96 missions; 111 stations, and 346 out stations. There are 641 persons employed by the board those missions, of which 245 are native assistants, and 401 sent from this country.—The society has abroad 11 printing presses, which printed over fifty tons during the year. In connection with the missions, 84 churches connected with the missions, and 24,286 church members, of which, 1,276 were added during the year. There are ten seminaries, seventeen boarding schools, and 1,500 schools in connection with the Society, in which there are 23,561 pupils.

☞ The liberals nominated three ☐ candidates for Representatives. Mr J. S. Little, who is declined, Abner Lane and Phineas Barnes, Esq. After several of the democratic caucus Mr. Shaw, Hon. Geo. F. Shepley and J. C. Tukesbury, a Law man, were nominated. Mr. T. declined, and Mr. Barnes was promptly voted for by the "*liberals*" instead, as he would have been, if Mr. Tukesbury had consented to stand. The people did not fancy this liberal ticket, and promptly said on Monday last, "*O, p'haaw sez shaan't stand that any how.*"—*Watchman.*

PERHAM is still in our midst, but his stay is short. His Panorama closes Saturday. He has been bringing people from the country into the city for the last four weeks by thousands. In doing this he has been the means of very greatly promoting the mercantile and railroad interests of the city. He has been a public benefactor. The smiling faces, I etok-ning joyful hearts, that have been seen by thousands, as our country friends were about returning to their homes after the delights of the day.

Now what shall be done for Perham? We suggest a grand benefit for him, by our citizens next Monday evening.

☞ Mr Hezekiah Dodge, of this city, is authorized to receive money and give receipts for the luquirer for the publishers.

WILLEY & THURSTON.

☞ See the last page.

SATISFACTORY PROOF.

THAT DYSPEPSIA CAN BE CURED.

From R. P. RITTY, Esq., Assistant Clerk, in the House of Representatives.

WASHINGTON D. C., Jan 15, 1851.

Dr. Geo. H. Gregory—Dear Sir,—I feel it not only a pleasure, but a duty, to make known to you, and the public if you desire it), the surprising effects of the Oxygenated Bitters, in relieving me from the effects of a severe attack of Dyspepsia. I have been afflicted for about seventeen years with the most attendant symptoms, viz.: constipation of the bowels, headache, pain in the chest, flatulence, acidity of the stomach and water rumbling, and, for months at a time, for the least exercise, the food would appear on the surface of the chest or limbs and most of the time I was extremely billious. I have used various remedies, have been strict in my diet, have been dosed with calomel by the quantity, but all to no good purpose.—Hearing the wonderful efforts of the "Oxygenated Bitters" in the cure of Dyspepsia, I procured some and in the first week have used four bottles of the medicine, and find the above symptoms all removed, and myself once more in the enjoyment of health. None but the Dyspeptic sufferer, who has felt all the horrors of the disease, can at all appreciate the value of the above cure. I sincerely hope you may have a long trial of the medicine, and with me be able to rejoice in the return of health.

Repectfully yours, R. P. RITTY

REED, AUSTIN & CO., Wholesale Druggists No. 2, Commercial Row, Boston, General Agents.

☞ THAYER, and all the principal Druggists here—at $1 per bottle or a dozen for $5.

INTERESTING CURE OF CROUP.

NOTICE HOW QUICKLY IT CURES.

PLAINFIELD, CONN., July 17th, 1851.

DR. A. L. SCIPLE:—If a mother's thankfulness for the restoration of a darling child from the effects of CROUP, is a recommendation of your CHERRY PECTORAL, you are welcome to use mine. Our little boy, at the time he was administered to by your agent, was in the last stages of the painful and distressing and dangerous attack of CROUP. In a very few minutes after the first dose of his medicine was administered, and within 12 hours every symptom of the disorder was gone. I am sincerely thankful that your agent was in our place at the time, and made us aware of the efficacy of your preparation as a cure for this frightful and too generally fatal disease.

Yours, with gratitude, LYDIA LEVERETT.

☞ CAUTION.—None genuine, unless there is on the buff wrapper, a note of hand, signed with a FAC-SIMILE of A. L. SCIPLE.

For sale, wholesale and retail by A. L. SCIPLE, 60 Cedar street, New York, and by THURSTON, HALL, No. 3½ Broadway New York to whom all orders for the medicine and letters relating to agencies, should be addressed, post paid.

Also, for sale in PORTLAND by H.H. HAY 17 Market Square.

Also, for sale in HALLOWELL, LYNDON, AUGUSTA, &c. Mc. by H. H. HAY, LYNDON, AUGUSTA, &c. Mc. PRICE—One dollar per bottle—$5.00 six bottles for $5. New York, Dec. 6, 1851

MARRIAGES.

In Lisbon, 9th inst., by Rev. Mr. Cutler, Mr. James W. Sias to Miss Sarah D. Hanson, both of Lisbon.

In Bath, 9th inst., by Rev. Dr. Dwight, Allen Collier, Esq., of the firm of John Swasey & Co., of Portland, to Miss Sarah E. Parker, only daughter of John How, Esq., of this city.

In Bangor, 13th inst., Mr. Sewall C. Chapman, Jr. to Miss Loretta Hall Bangs, Mr. Isaac F. McDonald to Miss Rebecca Pinkham Webster, all of B.

In Bath, 14th inst. Mr. Samuel Johnson, of Portland, to Miss E. Jane, daughter of Dr. S. P. Knight, of D.

In Belfast, 9th inst., Mr. Josiah Dinsmore of Winterham, N. H., to Miss Martha T. Park of Belfast, Mr. Amos Tucker of Stoughton, Mass., to Mrs. Ann Avery, of Belfast.

DEATHS.

In this city, 16th inst., Mary E., daughter of Edward Fairfield, aged 1 year.

In Belfast, 14th inst., Wm. Henry, son of Capt. Wm. Clifton, aged 24.

In Bangor, 12th inst., Miss Susan F. Browne, aged 23 years.

In Falmouth, 11th inst., John Augustine, only son of Capt. Apollos Davis, aged 17 years 6 months.

In Belfast, 11th inst., Mrs. Olive Wheeler, aged 52.

In Wesley, 26th ult., Moses, son of Mr. Henry J. Woods, aged 20.

In Searsport, 8th ult., Miss Adelaide Ames, aged 17.

In Bangor, 14th inst., Mrs. Eliza M., wife of Mr. Geo. W. Smith, aged 29.

In Bloomfield, Mrs. Deborah, widow of Capt. Andrew Barnard, formerly of Scarboro, Me., aged 85.

In Quincy, Mass., 16th inst., at the residence of her sister, where she was visiting, Mrs. Caroline Furber, wife of E. A. L. Codman, Esq., of this city.

AGENTS WANTED!!

Wanted a number of local and traveling agents, to sell several of the most popular works that have ever been issued from the press. Enterprising men can clear from two to five dollars per day.—The most liberal inducements will also be offered to agents to engage in the Health Insurance business For one of the best offices in the Union. Full particulars will be given by addressing by Mail (*post paid*) the subscriber.

C. H. WOOD.

Stratford, Conn.

HERE IS YOUR REMEDY.

Holloways's Ointment.

A MOST MIRACULOUS CASE OF LEPROSY HAS BEEN EFFECTED BY THIS LEGITIMATE REMEDY.

Extraordinary Case of Mr. Wm. Brown, Dundee, Scotland.

[Copy of a letter from Mr. Wm. Brown, Dundee, to Professor Holloway.]

THE THREE KINGDOMS.

To Professor Holloway.—SIR—I suffered for a period of three years from a scaly disease, the result of some three different constitutional disorders, which baffled the skill of numerous medical gentlemen, and defied every remedy, until I was induced to try your Ointment and Pills. In the course of a few weeks I found myself relieved, and in the course of a few months completely cured. Numerous modes of treatment had been tried—I was discharged as incurable. I was laid on my back of the hospital, and had determined to try them, and in less than a month I was perfectly cured. Many persons in this neighborhood have suffered as I did, and have had recourse to the same remedies, but without a single instance of success. I am anxious that my case should be known, that others may be induced to try your Ointment and Pills, and be restored to health, as I have been. I am, Sir, your obedient servant, WILLIAM BROWN.

The truth of this statement can be certified by Mr. W. P. Englis, Chemist, Hilliard street, Dundee.

A WORD OF CAUTION IS NOT DANGEROUS

SWILLING IT TOO KNEE.

Copy of a Letter from John Pyle, to the proprietor.

SIR—I have much pleasure in informing you of the wonderful cure effected in my family by your Ointment and Pills. My son was afflicted with a severe swelling on each side of the leg, rather above the knee, for nearly two years, during which time he suffered great pain. I had the advice of five eminent surgeons here, and was at an immense expense, but all to no purpose. All their various modes of treatment had been tried in vain. I was discharged as incurable. I was induced to try a few of your Ointment and Pills, and before I had used them above half a box, I perceived a decrease in the swelling, and in the course of a month I was quite convinced that a perfect cure was effected. I have used them ever since, and am happy to say that my son is now perfectly restored to health, and is able to follow his employment as a weaver, which he has been unable to do for the last two years. I am thankful for the cure effected, and feel great pleasure in recommending your Ointment and Pills to all persons suffering from scrofulous complaints, as I have every confidence that they will prove beneficial. I am, Sir, your obedient servant, JOHN PYLE.

Witness, Mr. Wm. Blane, Publican, Philand, and Mr. Hill, Auctioneer, Philand.

Sold by all Druggists throughout the United States, at the manufactories of Professor Holloway, 244 Strand, London, and 80 Maiden Lane, New York, and by all respectable Venders of Medicine throughout the civilized world.

N. B. Directions for the guidance in any disease are affixed to each pot or box.

JOSHUA HUSTON & CO., Portland, Wholesale and Retail Agents for the State of Maine. Also, Wholesale and Retail by Edward Mann & Co., Lowell, and C. L. Herbert, Newton. sept. 11.

Kossuth in New England.

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June 4, 1852.

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December 15, 1851—6.

THE GREATEST HISTORICAL AND Allegorical Print of the Age,

In Commemoration of the most important event in the AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

The British surrendering their arms to GENERAL WASHINGTON

After their defeat at YORKTOWN, Virginia, October, 1781.

THE Engraving is now ready. Tanner Vallence Kearny, Esq., Secretary of Legation at Paris, has drawn the figures in the transaction, and the Engraving has been executed by the first Engraver in this country, Mr. Alexander Warren, of Boston. General Washington, General Lincoln, and the Count de Rochambeau, with their Staffs, are represented as receiving the surrender, and Count de Grasse and Admiral Barras, with their officers, are represented as standing by the side of the French officers. The British officers are represented as surrendering their swords, and the British soldiers as laying down their arms. The Engraving is 18 inches square, and contains portraits of the principal officers, both British and American, and is a correct representation of the scene. The Engraving is executed in the highest style of the art, and is a splendid work. It is a work that every American should have in his possession, and will be highly prized by every lover of his country. Every Soldier of the Revolution will want a copy, and every Democrat will want one to present to his friends of the Democratic party.

The Engraving is now finished, and will be delivered to subscribers in the order in which their names were received. Liberty and Independence for ever!

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The Farmer

Seeding Down in September.

We again remind our subscribers of the importance of attending at the proper time to this branch of farming. August is the time to commence this work, though in many cases September will answer as well. For it is often so dry, that it is prudent to wait for rain before committing the seed to the earth.

There is much land which has long been mown or pastured, but which is not suitable for planting. It is wet in the spring and consequently too cold for corn and potatoes. Much of this kind of land is suffered to lie unproductive from year to year because the owners could plant other grounds to better advantage, as to gain, &c.

Still, much of this low ground would produce more grass than the grounds that are suitable for grain, provided they could have a fair chance. Rotation ot crops is of great importance to farmers; but as rotation can not be practised in all places a change from poor grass to good grass is much better than no change.

When green sward is turned in August or September there is much vegetable matter buried under the sod. This aids the succeeding harvest and light dressing only is required to encourage the new seed.

Herdsgrass and red-top seed are the best for this season of the year, and if clover is to be added it may be sown in November when it is too late for it to vegetate, or in any of the winter months. It is sometimes sown in March and April, but as the ground is not to be harrowed the spring rains are not always sufficient to bury it.

One peck of good herdsgrass and three or four pecks of red-top will be enough for an acre—though some men sow twice as much. It is as injurious to sow grass seed too thick as to sow grain too thick. Where we have sown more than one peck of herdsgrass per acre we have had a diminished harvest.

We recommend sowing as soon as possible after ploughing. There is a freshness in the soil just turned up, which favors germination, and it is better to sow the seed as soon as one acre is turned. Then harrow thoroughly and roll the ground with a heavy roller. It is prudent in many cases to roll down the furrows before harrowing, and to let the harrow pass first lengthwise of the furrows to prevent tearing them up.

As grass seed should not be buried deep, it is best to use a brush harrow to bury it.—When the roller is depended on, the grass seed is apt to adhere to it and leaves spots without seed. The roller should go last.—*Massachusetts Ploughman.*

Budding or Inoculating.

The season has now arrived for budding or inoculating fruit trees, and we wish to call the attention of those who wish to improve the time in this way to the fact.

A series of cuts or engravings would be necessary to fully illustrate the process of budding to those of our young readers who do not understand it. Budding may be considered to consist in inserting a bud taken from one branch or tree into the bark of another tree. In order to do this successfully, you want, in the first place, a good, healthy, thrifty stalk to plant into, and in the next place, a fully developed, healthy bud to plant,—and in the next place, this bud should be so prepared as to fit exactly into the place prepared for it, so that the minute vessels of the one shall match with those of the other, and thus by the union of the sap they form a permanent union of wood.

As a general rule, you can begin to bud trees as soon as the bark slips easily, and the buds to be set are fully developed. Of course some kinds of fruits, such as cherries, plums, and such like, will require earlier setting than pears, apples, and fruits of nature.

Any mode by which you fit the bud after it has been prepared, into the bark of the stalk, may be adopted, but the usual mode is to cut into a stalk with a thin sharp knife, through the bark, in the form of a T, and turn the corners of the flaps of the cut a little up and outwards, by inserting a thin blade of wood or ivory under the bark. This should be done easily, and without rupturing or disturbing the alburnum, or, as some call it, *sliver* of the wood. You then find a good, healthy bud at the foot of a leaf, cut off the leaf, leaving a portion of the stem, and with your knife, made very sharp, cut off the bud by inserting the knife, say half an inch above it and with a smooth cut downwards separate it from the branch, with a portion of the bark and wood attached to it, say an inch in length. The wood taken off with the bark will be a thin slice, and if it be loose may be removed by lifting with the point of the knife. In doing this care must be taken not to pull off the *roots* or little protuberances of the bud, which are essential to its union with the top. Having done this, cut off the bark square across, lift up the bark of the T cut in the stalk, and insert the bud under it, having the square cut of the bark on the bud match snugly with the top of the T cut in the stalk.

Press the flaps down, and wind around carefully, both above and below the bud, some cotton wicking, woolen yarn, basswood bark, or something of the kind, that shall keep the whole in its place. Don't bruise or batter any of the parts to be united, nor suffer them to become dry.

If the bud looks green and plump in a fortnight after it is inserted, it is a sign that it has taken root and will live; if it looks shrivelled and dry it is a failure. In three or four weeks, the bandage may be removed to prevent its becoming too tight by the growth of the stalk, and thus girdling the tree.

After the bud throws out its branch, the following spring, cut off the stalk two or three inches above it, and if it does not grow up straight, it may be tied up to the stalk, loosely, to direct its growth upward,—and after it has fairly got under way, say in midsummer, the stalk may be cut down close to the bud, and the wound will soon be covered over by young, healthy bark, and a perfect union of the bud and stalk be completed.

Ploughing and Seeding.

I wish you would encourage our agriculturists always to seed their grounds as fast as they plough. The amazing advantage will at once be apparent to the reflecting farmer. To those who will not think on the subject enough to see its importance, I recommend to "try a patch."

It is lamentable to see so many farmers ploughing for a week, and then when the whole field is done, and the weeds and grass seed pretty well germinated, begin to put in their crop.

The moisture and mellowness of the earth when first turned, create immediate vegetation; delay loses this to the crop, and gives the advantage to the weeds and grass that are in the soil. Only look out for it!

AGRICOLA.

The above is from the Ohio Cultivator. Farmers are not as likely here, as there, to have a field that will occupy one week ploughing. We are over-fond of small patches, and four acre lots. But the Advice of Agricola is good anywhere; and we advise a trial of "a patch."—[*Journal of Agriculture.*

Rice Cups.—Boil some rice in a very little milk, so as to be perfectly dry when done. Mash it [illegible], and while it is hot add a [illegible] [illegible]er, and sugar to suit the taste. Put the [illegible]; you should fill them as [illegible] by pressing the rice into [illegible], turn them out [illegible] und on them, and on a dish, po[illegible] a [illegible]

Platform of Freedom.

Adopted by the Free Democratic National Convention, held at Pittsburg, Aug. 11th and 12th, 1852.

Having assembled in National Convention as the delegates of the Free Democracy of the United States, united by a common resolve to maintain Rights against Wrongs and Freedom against Slavery; confiding in the intelligence, the patriotism and the discriminating justice of the American People; putting our trust in God for the triumph of our cause, and invoking his guidance in our endeavors to advance it, we now submit to the candid judgement of all men the following declarations of principles and measures:

1. That Governments deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, are instituted among men to secure to all those inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, with which they are endowed by their Creator, and of which none can be deprived by valid legislation, except for crime.

2. That the true mission of American Democracy is to maintain the Liberties of the People, the Sovereignty of the States and the perpetuity of the Union, by the impartial application to public affairs, without sectional discriminations, of the fundamental principles of equal rights, strict justice, and economical administration.

3. That the federal Government is one of limited powers, derived solely from the Constitution, and the grants of power therein ought to be strictly construed, by all the departments and agents of the government, and it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

4. That the Constitution of the United States, ordained to form a more perfect union, to establish justice, and secure the blessings of liberty, expressly denies to the General Government all power to deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of the law; and therefore, the government, having no more power to make a slave than to make a king, and no more power to establish slavery than to establish monarchy, should at once proceed to relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence of slavery, wherever it possesses constitutional power to legislate for its extinction

5. That to the persevering and importunate demands of the Slave Power for *more Slave States new Slave Territories* and *the nationalization of Slavery*, our distinct and final answsr is — NO MORE SLAVE STATES, NO SLAVE TERRITORY, NO NATIONALIZED SLAVERY, and NO NATIONAL LEGISLATION FOR THE EXTRADITION OF SLAVES.

6. That slavery is a sin against God, and a crime against man, which no human enactment nor usage can make right, and that Christianity, Humanity, and Patriotism alike demand its abolition.

7. That the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 is repugnant to the Constitution, to the principles of the common law, to the spirit of Christianity, and to the sentiments of the civilized world. We, therefore, deny its binding force upon the American people, and demand its immediate and total repeal.

8. That the doctrine that any human law is a finality and not subject to modification or repeal, is not in accordance with the creed of the founders of our government, and is dangerous to the liberties of the people.

9. That the acts of Congress known as the Compromise measures of 1850, by making an admission of a sovereign State contingent upon the adoption of other measures demanded by the special interest of slavery; by their omission to guarantee freedom in free territories; by their attempt to impose unconstitutional limitations on the power of Congress and the people to admit new States: by their provisions for the assumption of five millions of the State debt of Texas, and for the payment of five millions more, and the cession of a large territory to the relinquishment of a groundless claim; and by their invasion of the sovereignty of the States, and the liberties of the people through the enactment of an unjust, oppressive and unconstitutional Fugitive Slave Law—are proved to be inconsistent with all the principles and maxims of Democracy, and wholly inadequate to the settlement of the questions of which they are claimed to be an adjustment.

10. That no permanent settlement of the Slavery question can be looked for, except in the practical recognition of the truth, that Slavery is sectional, and Freedom national, by the total separation of the General Government from Slavery, and the exercise of its legitimate and constitutional influence on the side of Freedom, and by leaving to the States the whole subject of Slavery and the extradition of fugitives from service.

11 That as all men have a natural right to a portion of the soil as indispensable to life, the right of all men to the soil is as sacred as their right to life itself.

12. That the Public Lands of the United States belong to the people, and should not be sold to individuals nor granted to corporations, but should be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of the people, and should be granted in limited quantities, free of cost, to landless settlers.

13. That a due regard for the Federal Conrs shall have concurrent jurisdiction with the Judges of the Circuit and District Courts of the United States, and with the Judges of the Superior Courts in the Territories, and shall on satisfactory proof, grant certificates to the claimants of fugitives from labor, with authority to take such fugitives to the State or Territory from which they may have escaped.

SEC. 5—Makes it the duty of the Marshal and Deputy Marshal to execute all warrants and precepts issued under this law, with a penality of $1000, to be recovered for the use of the claimant, in case of refusal or neglect diligently to execute said process. It also makes the Marshal liable to the claimant on his official bond, for the full value of the labor and service of the fugitive in the state whence he fled, in case said fugitive shall escape from the Marshal or his Deputy, *after* his arrest, whether *with* or *without* the assent of such Marshal or deputy; and also gives the Commissioner power to appoint suitable persons, from time to time, to execute the process issued by them, and also gives the Commissioners and the persons so appointed, power to call to their aid the *posse com tatus*, and *commands all good citizens to AID and ASSIST in the prompt and efficient execution of* this law; and also provides that the warrants may be executed in any part of the State where they were issued.

SEC. 6.—Provides, That when a person, owing service or labor, in any State or Territory, has heretofore, or shall hereafter, escape into any other State or Territory, the person to whom such labor or service may be due, may pursue such fugitive, and may arrest him with process issued under this act, or *may seize him* WITHOUT PROCESS, *where the same can be done* and cause him to be taken before the Court, Judge or Commissioner who shall hear and determine the cause of such claimant in a SUMMARY MANNER! and upon satisfactory proof being made by deposition or affidavit in writing, taken by such county Judge or Commissioner, or by *other* satisfactory testimony duly taken and certi-

ease upon an individual, or [illegible] country. False conclusions in political ec[illegible] my bankrupt a city or the treasury of a n[illegible] False metaphysical or theological d[illegible] cramp the faculties, vitiate the knowledge[illegible] repress the aspirations of their possessors [illegible] the schools or the sects that adopt them [illegible] dle into weakness, become contemptible [illegible] perish. God kills out error by the mea[illegible] of its results. Neither caste, primogeni[illegible] nor hierarchy can save it. The false no[illegible] of Aristotle, about the perfectness of the c[illegible] for motion, and the law of equilibrium for [illegible] ids, with other absurdities, kept the philoso[illegible] [illegible] of the world in iron

[illegible], with authority to the claimant to use such reasonable force and restraint as may be necessary to take and remove such fugitive back to the State or Territory whence he escaped. It also provides [illegible] *trial or hearing shall the testimony of the [illegible] be admitted*, and that the certificates [illegible] in this and the first section, shall [illegible] LUSIV[illegible] the right of the person [illegible] the [illegible] take back such [illegible] AN[illegible] NT AL[illegible] MO-LESTA[illegible] NS BY ANY PROCESS ISSUED BY ANY COURT, JUDGE

MAGISTRATE OR OTHER PERSON WHOMSOEVER. [This annuls the writ of *Habeas Corpus.*];

SEC. 7—Provides that any person who shall knowingly hinder or prevent the claimant, or any one assisting him, from arresting or seizing the fugitive, either *with* or *without process*, or who shall aid, abet or assist him, either directly or indirectly in escaping; or shall harbor or conceal him so as to prevent his discovery or arrest, after notice or knowledge of his being a fugitive from labor, shall for either of said offenses be subject to a *fine*, not exceeding *one thousand dollars*, and to *imprisonment* not exceeding *six months*, and shall forfeit to the claimant *one thousand dollars* for each fugitive so lost.

SEC. 8—Provides for the payment of the fees of the commissioner and officers. The commissioners to have TEN DOLLARS in case the fugitive is delivered up, and only FIVE DOLLARS in case he is set free: the other officers to have usual and reasonable fees, the whole to be paid by the claimant, his agent or attorney.

SEC. 9—Provides that on affidavit of the claimant that he fears a rescue, the officer making the arrest shall retain the fugitive in his custody, and transport him to the State whence he fled, and deliver him there to the claimant, his agent or attorney, employing sufficient force for that purpose; and that *the expenses shall be paid out of the treasury of the United States!*

SEC. 10—Provides, that on the escape of any fugitive, the owner may go before some court of record or judge, in vacation, in the State or Territory whence he fled, and make satisfactory proof of the escape, and that the person escaping owed service or labor, and that the court or judge should make a record of these facts, giving with reasonable certainty a description of the fugitive; and that a transcript of this record, duly authenticated, shall be CONCLUSIVE EVIDENCE in any other State or Territory, of the *fact* of escape, and of the *owing service or labor*, and shall require the Commissioner or other officer on further proof of the identity of the person arrested with the description in the record, to deliver him up, with a proviso that a transcript should not be *required*, but that, *in its absence*, the claim should be heard on *other* proofs.

Covenants with Death.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

That Congress has not power under the Constitution, to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the Constitution; *that all efforts of the Abolitionists, or others, made to induce Congress* TOINTERFERE *with questions of Slavery*, ORTO TAKE INCIPIENT STEPS, *in relation thereto*, are calculated to lead to the most *alarming* and dangerous consequenees; and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, *and ought not to be countenanced* by any friend of our political institutions.

Resolved, That the forgoing proposition covers, and was intended to embrace *the whole subject of Slavery agitation in Congress*; and therefore *the Democratic party of the Union*, standing on this National platform, *will abide and adhere* to a faithful execution of the series of acts known as the Compromise measures, settled by the last Congress—*the act for the reclaiming of fugitives from service or labor included*, which act, being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution *CANNOT, with fidelity thereto, be repealed* or so changed as to impair its efficiency.

Resolved, That the Democratic party *will RESIST all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out it*, the agitation of the Slavery question under WHATEVER SHAPE OR COLOR THE ATTEMPT MAY BE MADE.

ENDORSEMENT.

Gen. Pierce's Letter of Acceptance.

"I accept the nomination, upon the Platform adopted by the Convention, NOT BECAUSE IT IS EXPECTED OF ME AS A CANDIDATE, BUT BECAUSE THE PRINCIPLES IT EMBRACES COMMAND THE APPROBATION OF MY JUDGMENT; AND WITH THEM I THINK I CAN SAFELY SAY, THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO WORD OR ACTION IN MY LIFE IN CONFLICT."

WHIG PLATFORM,

Adopted at Baltimore, June, 1852.

That the series of acts of the thirty-first Congress, known as the Compromise, or Adjustment, (the act for the recovery of fugitives from labor included,) *are received and acquiesced in by the Whig party of the United States, as a FINAL settlement, in principle and substance*, of the subject to which they relate, and so far as they are concerned, *we will MAINTAIN them, and insist on their enforcement*, until time and experience shall demonstrate the necessity of further legislation to guard against the *evasion* of the laws on the one hand, and the *abuse* of their powers on the other,—*not impairing their present efficiency*, to carry out the requirements of the Constitution; *and we deprecate all further agitation of the questions thus settled*, as dangerous to our peace, and *we will DISCOUNTENANCE all efforts to continue or renew such agitation, WHENEVER OR HOWEVER MADE*, and we will maintain this *settlement*, as *essential* to the *nationality* of the *Whig party*, and the *integrity* of the Union.

ENDORSEMENT.

Gen. Scott was nominated on Monday, June 21, 1852, the resolutions having been already adopted. On Sunday, June 20, he wrote to Gov. Jones, of Tenn., thus:

"Having the honor to be a Candidate of the Whig Convention, I will accept the nomination if tendered to me, WITH THE PLATFORM LAID DOWN BY THE CONVENTION."

Gen. Scott's statements to the Mississippi Delegation.

"I was in point of time, the fourth or fifth man, who declared for the Omnibus Bill. Clay and Foote are the only men I remember who preceeded me. I, afterwards during the passage of the various compromise bills, sanctioned and sustained each, as it came up, in all its length and breadth. I have on an average, ever since, at least five times a day, declared the same sentiment. I declared for three measures as early as the 1st of February, 1850. Mr. Clay visited me on the day, or the next day after their passage by Congress, and, I may say, embraced me as a brother and partner in success. I am surprised at, and cannot account for, the contrary rumor that has gone abroad especially amongst my friends at the South. I am gratified to have this opportunity of setting myself right in presence of the accredited men of Mississippi. * * * I am willing, and even desire, if any man of good character will state that he heard me say otherwise than I have said to you that the word "infamous" should be written both before and after my name."

Gen. Scott to Hon. W. S. Archer.

John M. Botts, read the following letter before the National Whig Convention June, 18th.

"MY DEAR SIR:—I have decided to write nothing to the Convention, or to any individual member before nomination, but should that honor fall to my lot, I shall in my acceptance, give my views *on the Compromise Measures*, in terms at least as STRONG IN THEIR FAVOR as those I read to you two days since. Please *say as much* to my friends Gov. Jones, Mr. Botts, Mr Lee, &c.

In haste, yours truly,

WINFIELD SCOTT.

To Hon. W. S. Archer.

Gen. Scott's Letter of Acceptance.

"I ACCEPT THE NOMINATION, WITH THE RESOLUTIONS ANNEXED."

THE PLATFORM,

OF THE

SLAVERY COMPROMISE PARTIES.

ALIAS, AN

ABSTRACT OF THE FUGITIVE LAW.

SECTION 1—Provides, That U. S. Commissioners may and "are required to exercise all the powers and duties conferred by this act."

SEC. 2.—Provides, That the Superior Court of each organized Territory may appoint Commissioners, with the ordinary powers, and that such Commissioners shall also exercise the powers and duties conferred by this act.

SEC. 3—Provides, That the Circuit Courts of the U. S., and the Superior Court of each organized Territory shall from time to time, increase the number of Commissioners, with a view to afford reasonable *facilities* for the reclaiming of fugitives, and for the prompt discharge of the duties imposed by this act.

SEC. 4—Provides, That the Commission[illegible] stitution and sound administrative policy, demands that the funds of the General Goverment be kept separate from banking institution; that inland and ocean postage should be reduced to the lowest possible point; that no more revenue should be raised than is required to defray the strictly necessary expenses of the public service and to pay off the public debt, and that the power and patronage of the Government should be diminished by the abolition of all unnecessary offices, salaries and privileges; and by the election by the people of all civil offices in the service of the United States, so far as may be consistent with the prompt and efficient transaction of the public business.

14. That River and Harbor Improvements, when necessary to the safety and convenience of commerce with foreign nations or among the several States, are objects of National concern, and it is the duty of Congress, in the exercise of its constitutional powers, to provide for the same.

15 That emigrants and exiles from the Old World should find a cordial welcome to homes of comfort and fields of enterprise in the New; and every attempt to abridge their privilege of becoming citizens and owners of the soil among us, ought to be resisted with inflexible determination.

16. That every nation has a clear right to alter or change its own government, and to administer its own concerns, in such manner as may best secure the rights and promote the happiness of the people; and foreign interference with that right is a dangerous violation of the law of nations, against which all independent governments should protest, and endeavor by all proper means to prevent; and especially is it the duty of the American Government, representing the chief Republic of the world, to protest against, and by all proper means to prevent the intervention of Kings and Emperors against nations seeking to establish for themselves republican or constitutional governments.

17. That the independence of Hayti ought to be recognized by our government, and our commercial relations with it placed on the foot ing of the most favored nations.

18. That as by the Constitution "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States," the practice of imprisoning the colored seamen of other States, while the vessels to which they belong lie in port, and refusing to exercise the right to bring such cases before the Supreme Court of the United States to test the legality of such proceedings, is a flagrant violation of the Constitution and an invasion of the rights of the citizens of other States—utterly inconsistent with the professions made by the Slave-holders that they wish the provisions of the Constitution faithfully observed by every State in the Union.

19. That we recommend the introduction into all treaties hereafter to be negotiated between the United States, and foreign nations, of some provision for the amicable settlement of difficulties by a resort to decisive arbitration

20. That the Free Democratic Party is not organized to aid either the Whig or the Democratic wing of the great Slave Compromise Party of the nation, but to defeat them both; and that repudiating and renouncing both as hopelessly corrupt and utterly unworthy of confidence, the purpose of the Free Democracy is to take possession of the Federal Government and administer it for the protection of the rights and interests of the whole people.

21. That we inscribe on our banner, "FREE SOIL, FREE SPEECH, FREE LABOR, and FREE MEN," and under it, will fight on and fight ever, until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions.

22. That upon this Platform, the Convention presents to the American People as a candidate for the office of President of the United States, JOHN P. HALE, of New Hampshire, and as a candidate for the office of Vice President of the United States, GEORGE W. JULIAN, of Indiana, and earnestly commends them to the support of all freemen and patriots.

Patent Brick Machine.

Quite a large party from this city paid a very agreeable visit to the brick yard of Messrs. Tufts and Boyden's steam brick works, Somerville, on Thursday last, to witness the operation of Mover & Woodworth's patent brick machines, a detailed notice of which we published a few months since. The peculiar feature of this admirable invention is that it makes brick out of dry clay, and turns them out at the rate of 2500 to 2800 an hour, all ready to be immediately set into the kiln for burning. The bricks produced are very superior in finish and in quality. They have been tested in the side walks of our own city, and at the Navy Yard at Washington. At the latter place a cube 1 1-2 inches square, cut from a brick made by these machines, withstood a pressure applied by the crushing machine, of 24,900 lbs. An additional weight of 100 lbs. crushed it. The strength of these bricks is therefore given at 16,000 lbs to the square inch. Mr. Strong, the superintendent of the U. S. capitol, says, "they are very straight and square, and present a beautiful face for outside work; they cut readily and very even. I have no hesitaton in recommending them as a superior article of building material." The introduction of these machines cannot fail of increasing the quantity of brick used for building purposes, as they furnish a very superior article at a lower price than the hand made brick. One of them has already been shipped for California, and another is nearly completed for the same destination.—*Boston Journal.*

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Saco. Jan. 3, 1852.

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